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**SIR JAMES MELVILLE'S MEMOIRS.**





# **MEMOIRS**

**OF HIS OWN LIFE'**

**BY SIR JAMES MELVILLE**

**OF HALHILL.**

**M.D.XLIX.—M.D.XCIII.**

---

**FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.**

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**PRINTED AT EDINBURGH,**

**M.DCCC.XXVII.**



At a Meeting of the Committee of Management of the BANNATYNE  
CLUB, held at Edinburgh, on the 10th day of July 1826,

Resolved, That the “ MEMOIRS OF HIS OWN LIFE, BY SIR JAMES  
MELVILLE OF HALHILL,” be printed for the use of the Members, from  
the Original Manuscript in the possession of the Right Honourable Sir  
George H. Rose ; under the superintendance of the VICE-PRESIDENT.

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At a Meeting of the BANNATYNE CLUB, held at Edinburgh, on the  
31st day of January 1827,

Resolved, That the PRESIDENT be requested to communicate the  
thanks of the Members to THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR GEORGE  
H. ROSE, for the use of his invaluable Manuscript of the Memoirs of  
Sir James Melville, so liberally and obligingly granted to them.

DAVID LAING, Secretary.





# **THE BANNATYNE CLUB.**

**M.DCCC.XXVII.**

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THE HON. J. H. MACKENZIE, LORD MACKENZIE.

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55 JAMES MAIDMENT, ESQ.

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ANDREW RUTHERFURD, ESQ.

70 THE RIGHT HON. SIR SAMUEL SHEPHERD, LORD CHIEF

BARON OF SCOTLAND.

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**JAMES SKENE, ESQ.**

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**75 MAJOR-GENERAL STRATON.**

**ALEXANDER THOMSON, ESQ.**

**THOMAS THOMSON, ESQ. VICE-PRESIDENT.**

**W. C. TREVELYAN, ESQ.**

**79 PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, ESQ.**

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## PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

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SIR JAMES MELVILLE is well known as a person of considerable distinction in the Scottish court, during the reigns of Queen Mary and King James the Sixth. In many of the political transactions of that eventful period he was himself personally concerned, and for nearly half a century, had been an acute and intelligent observer of the characters and conduct of those around him. On the accession of James to the English crown, he withdrew himself entirely from public life, and appears to have devoted a part of his leisure to the compilation of some "Memorials" of himself; not so much in the view of giving to the world an exact and regular History of all the great and interesting events of his own times, as of leaving to his children a sort of political testament, exhibiting for their instruction and guidance, as much as for the gratification of their curiosity, a view of his own conduct and experience as a courtier, and a practical illustration of those rules and maxims, by which success in public life was most likely to be attained.



Sir James Melville died in the year 1617, at the age of seventy-two, leaving several sons and daughters. Yet, by some strange accident or neglect, the work thus peculiarly designed for their use, was suffered to pass out of the possession of his family, and is said to have long lain unheeded and forgotten in the Castle of Edinburgh. Among the Presbyterian ministers who, in the year 1660, were imprisoned in that fortress, by an order of the Committee of Estates, was the venerable Mr Robert Trail; and it is said that the original manuscript of Melville's Memoirs was there accidentally found by him, and restored to the author's grandson.

From this manuscript, one copy at least was made; the use of which was given to Bishop Burnet, when employed in the composition of his History of the Reformation; and in the second volume of that work, he had repeatedly quoted and referred to Melville's Memoirs, as the source from which he had been enabled to draw much original and authentic information. Thus, after relating an anecdote of Montluc, bishop of Valence, it is added,—“ This is related by one  
 “ who was then with him, and was carried over by him to be a page  
 “ to the Scotch Queen; Sir James Melvil, who lived long in that  
 “ court, under the Constable of France, and was afterwards much em-  
 “ ployed by the Prince Elector Palatine in many negotiations; and  
 “ coming home to his own country, was sent on many occasions to the  
 “ court of England, where he lived in great esteem. He in his old age  
 “ writ a narrative of all the affairs that himself had been concerned in,

“ which is one of the best and perfectest pieces of that nature that I  
 “ have seen. The original is yet extant under his own hand in Scot-  
 “ land : A copy of it was showed me by one descended from him, from  
 “ which I shall discover many considerable passages, though the affairs  
 “ in which he was most employed were something later than the time  
 “ of which I am to write.”\*

It seems highly probable that this descendant of Sir James Melville was George Scott of Pitlochrie, a younger son of Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, and Margaret Melville one of Sir James's daughters. Certain it is, that George Scott was in London, for some time, in the course of the year 1679, when Burnet must have been employed in collecting materials for the second volume of his History of the Reformation, and when he may be presumed to have received the communication, above alluded to, of a copy of Melville's Memoirs, taken from “ the original “ under the author's own hand, yet extant in Scotland.” This part of Burnet's work was published in 1681. In 1683, it was followed by the first publication of the Memoirs, of which George Scott was, nominally at least, the editor, and in the preparation of which he professes to have used a copy, “ derived to him” from the original, after its restoration to the family of Halhill.†

\* Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 204. Among other references to Melville's narrative, see also vol. ii. pp. 214, 408, 411.

† Vide Appendix.

In an "Epistle to the Reader," prefixed to the work, after alluding to the period of the author's life at which "with his own hand he drew up these Memoires," the editor proceeds to say,—“How far he deduced them I cannot certainly determine; 'tis very probable he had given an account of all till the going of the King to England, though *this copy* extend not so far: However, thou hast all that I have, and nothing more than what is the author's, for I should esteem it impiety to obtrude any thing of my own under his name. And I hope the reader will rather accept kindly what is here happily retriev'd, than be offended at me for not furnishing him with more than the injuries of time and ill men have left us. And, indeed, I was not a little encouraged in this publication, by reflecting on the wonderful preservation of so much of it, after so many years, and its then coming so providentially to my hand; it having found the Castle of Edinburgh an asylum till the year 1660, which yet had not been found able to afford shelter to the Public Records of the kingdom, from the hands of tyrannical usurpers: Though I have not met with any information by what way it came thither, far less how secured so long a space, and amidst so many confusions, being there recommended to no man's particular care, but exposed to the mercy of the rabble: Whence it was wonderfully rescued by Mr Robert Trail, late minister of the Gray-Fryars Church in Edinburgh, when imprison'd there, to whom the author's hand was exactly known. This Mr Trail, counting it an happiness

“ to have lighted on so great a rarity, knowing the worth and abilities  
 “ of the author, remitted it to Sir James Melvil of Halhil, the author’s  
 “ grandchild : *From whence it was derived to me* ; and having perus-  
 “ ed it, and thought I should be highly injurious to the publick, if I  
 “ did not communicate it to the world ; together with the author’s fol-  
 “ lowing Epistle to his son in the nature of a Dedication, wherein, as  
 “ he shows his deep insight into the intrigues of Princes Courts, so it  
 “ likewise gives an evident demonstration of his sincerity in what he  
 “ has therein delivered ; and of his firm affection to virtue and ho-  
 “ nesty, and detestation of vice, and those flattering acts whereby evil  
 “ and self-seeking counsellours have often abused the best of Princes.”

It is scarcely necessary to say, that the work thus given to the pub-  
 lic was generally regarded as in itself a most interesting narrative, and  
 an invaluable addition to the authentic history of a period in which the  
 characters and motives of the great actors had become the subject of end-  
 less controversy. It appears, however, that suspicions of the fidelity of the  
 publisher began early to be entertained. His departure from the original  
 he had professed to copy was, in one respect, abundantly obvious. The  
 general style and phraseology of the Memoirs must have been clearly  
 perceived not to be those of the age of Sir James Melville ; but from  
 this it could only be inferred that, agreeably to the fashion of the time,  
 the work had been *done into English* by some *good hand* ; nor could  
 it fail to be remarked that the task had been performed by some one



very imperfectly versed in the peculiar idioms and antiquated phraseologies of the Scottish language.

Another ground of distrust, in later times at least, was the disappearance of the original manuscript, of which no traces could anywhere be found. This circumstance was by some connected with the disastrous fate of the editor and his family, who were known to have perished at sea, in the course of an ill-omened voyage to America.\* A less charitable explanation was adopted by others, whose opinions and prejudices inclined them to throw discredit on the historical accuracy of the Memoirs, and who affected to think that the original manuscript had been intentionally destroyed, in order to conceal the supposed falsifications of the publisher.

These conjectures, in themselves of no great weight, proceeded on the supposition that Melville's original manuscript had been transferred, from the representatives of the family of Halhill, to their ill-fated kinsman, the editor of the Memoirs; a supposition most improbable in itself, and contradicted even by his own statements. It still continued, therefore, to be regarded as a matter of historical interest to ascertain, if possible, the degree of credit truly due to the work published under Melville's name. On some points, his veracity had been directly and vehemently impeached; and on others, connected with some of the most disputed facts in the history of that period, the testimony of an eye-witness apparently so candid,

\* Vide Appendix.

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was anxiously sought for in its purest and most genuine form. In this view, the late Mr Laing is known to have directed his inquiries into every quarter where it was thought probable that the original manuscript might have been deposited ; but, as he himself has informed us, the attempt proved unavailing ;\* no traces of its existence could anywhere be found, and all hope of its discovery seemed to be nearly extinguished.

It must, therefore, afford much gratification to those who take an interest in such researches to learn, that an original manuscript of Sir James Melville's historical work has at last been found. Among the manuscripts formerly belonging to the family of the Earls of Marchmont, bequeathed to the late Mr George Rose, and now in the possession of his son, the Right Honourable Sir George H. Rose, there is one which has proved to be, in all probability, that original in the author's own hand, from which the copy perused by Burnet was taken, and from which the Memoirs published by the author's descendant were compiled. At what time, or by what means, it had passed into the possession of the Marchmont family, does not now appear. The intimate personal friendship, and political connexion of the two distinguished heads of the families of Melville and of Polwarth, at the period of the Revolution, are well known ; and that connexion may serve perhaps in some degree to account for the transfer of this interesting document into the hands of the first Earl of Marchmont, who,

\* Dissertation on Darnley's Murder, ii. 104.

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to his eminent talents and virtues as a statesman, added the tastes and accomplishments of a scholar.

Although it would be absurd to deny that there may have existed original manuscripts of this work, varying from each other in their structure and minute details, yet, on a fair consideration of all the circumstances that present themselves, in comparing the Marchmont manuscript with the printed Memoirs, it seems scarcely possible to resist the conclusion, that this must be the very same which was so fortunately discovered by Mr Robert Trail, and from which the Memoirs were derived.

The Marchmont manuscript, like that found in the Castle of Edinburgh, is in the handwriting of Sir James Melville. Independently of such alterations and corrections, and other peculiarities, as usually serve to indicate the hand of an author, the manuscript throughout has been found to bear a resemblance to other specimens of Melville's penmanship, so complete as to leave no hesitation in the mind of any one accustomed to make such comparisons. Among the Burghley Papers, in the Lansdowne Collection of Manuscripts now preserved in the British Museum, there is an original letter of Melville to Sir Thomas Randolph, supposed to have been written in the year 1572, probably more than thirty years anterior to the composition of his Memoirs. Of this letter, and of two small portions of the manuscript, lithographic imitations are here given; and although, on a comparison, there will be observed that diversity which is usual in the hand-

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writing of the same individual, in middle life, and in old age, it has not been deemed necessary to seek for any later specimens, in order to establish the point in question.

Another proof of identity, is afforded by the mutilated state of the Marchmont manuscript, compared with that of the manuscript said to have been found by Mr Trail. Whatever probability there may be in the statement given by his grandson, that Melville had continued his narrative down to the period of his retirement from Court in 1603, it appears that no part of the work subsequent in date to 1593, had been saved. The last public event alluded to in the printed Memoirs, is the adjustment in that year of certain discussions, arising out of the marriage-contract of the King and Queen; and in the Marchmont manuscript, in like manner, this is the last portion of the narrative that remains complete. There follows, indeed, some account of Bothwell's "surprise" of the King in July 1593, but so mutilated and imperfect, from the injury sustained by the manuscript, as sufficiently to explain its omission in the printed Memoirs. This of itself may be regarded as a decisive circumstance; for it is evidently against all reasonable calculation of chances, that so exact a coincidence should have happened in the fortuitous mutilation of two separate copies of the same work.

It did not require the aid of an original manuscript, to discover that the Memoirs were a modernized version of Melville's narrative; but the extent of this change, and the licence of alteration which had

been indulged in, could not well have been underflood or credited, without an actual comparison. In so far as regards merely the language of the narrative, the editor's only purpose seems to have been to give his book a more attractive and polished air; an attempt which could not possibly be made, without destroying, in a great measure, the genuine character of the original; and which, in many instances, has betrayed the compiler into mistakes and perversions of the author's meaning. Of these, the greater part must have been owing to an imperfect knowledge of the antiquated words and phrases of the Scottish dialect of Melville's age; but, in other instances, the errors of the version may still be traced to some occasional negligence or imperfection in the formation of words or letters, which a more careful examination of the manuscript might have enabled the copyist to decipher. To the external proofs of the identity of the Marchmont manuscript, and that employed by the editor of the Memoirs, may therefore be added some mistakes of the kind now alluded to; which, however, could not be rendered intelligible, without actual inspection of the original.

On the other hand, there are many palpable discrepancies between the Memoirs and the manuscript, for which it may not be so easy to account, and which may be thought to bear with considerable force against the supposition that this was the manuscript employed by the compiler of the printed work. The point is luckily of no very serious moment to the truth of history; but those who may think it deserv-

ing of inquiry, and who may be inclined to regard every deviation from the manuscript as a ground of presumption against the hypothesis here assumed, should bear in mind that critical fidelity and exactness in the publication of historical documents, were little studied or cared for till within a period comparatively recent. Those who are at all versant in this department of our literature, must be aware, that even where no deception was intended, it was held to be within the sound discretion, if not the bounden duty, of a careful editor, to retrench the prolixity, and expand the careless brevity of his author; to new-model the text into a better or more tasteful form, and to do whatever else he might deem requisite to render the work more acceptable to his readers. On the supposition that the Marchmont manuscript was the prototype of the printed Memoirs, it cannot be denied that the editor has made a liberal use of the customary privileges of his office; at the same time, it does not appear that any intentional or systematic plan to falsify the meaning and the sentiments of the author, had been entertained or acted on.

An obvious deviation of the printed Memoirs from their supposed original, will be found in the structure and arrangement of the earlier portion of the volume; it is at the same time, however, one of those most easily to be accounted for. In a preliminary address to his son, Sir James Melville informs him that the work he was about to prepare for his instruction, would consist chiefly of certain detached memorials and pieces written long before, in which were



recorded the transactions he had himself been employed in, or the observations he had made in the course of his travels. In the manuscript there are various traces of this mode of compilation. It begins with an account of his own personal history, and some of the remarkable occurrences of which he was a witness, from the period of his first leaving Scotland in 1549, till the battle of St Quentin in 1557. At this point, the course of the narrative is interrupted by a portion of manuscript, which is stated by the author not to belong to the History, but which he considers as "meeter to be placed at the end of the book." It consists of a series of examples of the ruin brought on young princes by the influence of evil councillors, drawn partly from ancient, partly from modern, history. His modern instances are King Edward VI. of England, and King James V. of Scotland. At the conclusion of this second and insulated portion of the manuscript, the author resumes his narrative nearly at the point where it was interrupted, yet not in such a way as to connect it exactly with the termination of the first part. In all that follows, however, there is a near approximation to the regular order of time, although at certain points it is not very difficult to discern a want of strict continuity, such as the author's plan of compilation could scarcely fail to occasion.

On examining the printed Memoirs, it will be found that an attempt, and not an unskilful one, has been made, to correct the disjointed state of the original composition. Throwing aside entirely the quotations from ancient and from English history, the work is made to commence

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with that portion of the manuscript which relates to King James V.; after which, by means of some sentences taken from the beginning of the third part of the manuscript, where the narrative is resumed, the suppression of a few repetitions, and the introduction of a few words, the first and third parts are made to follow without any interruption, and the whole is connected together without any apparent awkwardness or irregularity.

Another deviation from the manuscript, less easily explained, will be found in the author's prefatory address to his son. The first half of this address, as given in the printed Memoirs, is obviously a licentious version of that contained in the manuscript; but for the concluding half, the manuscript supplies no prototype at all. It stops in a manner apparently quite abrupt, and it may therefore have occurred to the editor that it would figure ill without a more orderly conclusion. Had this continuation in the printed Memoirs contained any thing striking or original, it might have been difficult to believe that it could be the unauthorized work of the compiler; but on examination, it will be found to contain little more than a flight review of some leading facts in the author's life as detailed in the Memoirs, from which the purity of his political conduct is meant to be inferred;—such a sketch as the grandson might have ventured to draw from the more ample narrative before him, for the purpose of vindicating the character of his ancestor.

In many other parts of the work, discrepancies between the manu-

script and the printed Memoirs may be observed, of which it would be useless here to attempt any full detail. Thus, in deciphering the names of persons and places, the copyist appears to have been often puzzled, and has committed innumerable errors; but in many other instances he has steered clear of all difficulty, by entirely omitting the doubtful words. A similar expedient has been frequently adopted where the author's meaning was obscure, or where it was not found easy to turn it into modern English. But there are other instances of a still bolder and more licentious deviation from the manuscript, either by altering the true meaning and effect of the original, or by inserting observations and reflections, for which it affords no authority. As examples of the former sort, it may be sufficient to refer to Melville's observations on the characters of the Queen and of the Regent Murray.\* Of the latter, among various instances, may be mentioned an interpolation in Melville's admonition to the Queen, on the subject of her condescensions to Rizzio, and other persons who had obtained a temporary ascendant in her favour.†

It would be idle to deny, that these and other circumstances of a similar kind may be adduced, as presumptions or proofs against the supposed identity of the Marchmont manuscript, and of that employed by the editor of the printed Memoirs. It is fortunate, however, that

\* V. *infr.* p. 111, l. 4, compared with printed Memoirs, (first Edit.) p. 43, l. 25.—And p. 222, l. 9, compared with *pr. Mem.* p. 103, l. 3.

† V. *infr.* p. 133, l. 18, compared with *pr. Mem.* p. 55, l. 31—50.

between the manuscript and the printed Memoirs, the diversities are not such as greatly to affect the intrinsic value of the work ; and whatever may now be thought of the comparative value of the two, it is obvious, that until another original shall be found, to vindicate their accuracy, the Memoirs published by George Scott must yield in authority to the genuine manuscript of Sir James Melville, and must cease to be relied on as the authentic record of his testimony on the events which he has commemorated.

Of that manuscript the following volume is intended to exhibit a faithful and literal copy, without any variation that can be regarded as a departure from the original. In this, as in every manuscript of the same age, many words are given in a contracted form ; the orthography is rude and irregular ; and the punctuation, where any is attempted, is in general more likely to mislead than to assist the reader. To avoid these causes of obscurity, the abbreviations have, in general, been removed ; and an attempt has been made to accommodate the punctuation to the structure and genuine sense of the composition. Here, however, there is ample room for minute criticism. In many cases, the structure of the composition is so loose and inartificial, as scarcely to admit of a luminous or systematic arrangement ; and in others it may perhaps be thought that the genuine sense of the text has been marred or mistaken ; it is fit, therefore, the reader should always bear in mind, that on this head he is entitled to exercise his own unfettered judgment.

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The original manuscript is without a title ; and although that already in common use is sufficiently descriptive of the general nature of the work, the liberty has here been taken of prefixing another still more characteristic, in which the words of the author himself, in the address to his son, have been borrowed.

To those who peruse the work with attention, it will be obvious that the chronological order of events has not always been accurately observed ; and the author's deviations from the order of time, while they indicate a strange failure of recollection, have sometimes betrayed him into mistakes in the connexion and sequence of events. Of this, among others that might be quoted, an instance occurs at the conclusion of the volume, where the baptism of Prince Henry, in 1594, is made to precede and lead on to some events that had occurred in the previous year. Others more important might be pointed out ; but as it is not here intended to enter into any critical examination of Melville's work, and as no attempt has been made to rectify the errors of the text, it may be enough to add, that even in its errors and defects, whatever be their nature or amount, the author's manuscript has been scrupulously followed.

APRIL, 1827.

## A P P E N D I X.

### ADDITIONAL NOTICES RESPECTING THE PUBLICATION OF THE MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES MELVILLE.

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It has been stated, in the Preliminary Notice, that George Scott of Pitlochrie, the avowed Editor of Melville's Memoirs in 1683, was the author's grandson. He appears to have been a needy and bustling projector; and among other plans for retrieving his broken fortunes, he took a very active share in the settlement of the colony of East-New-Jersey; a scheme in which several persons of rank and influence in Scotland had embarked. In 1685, he published a Tract under the following title, "The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America; and encouragements for such as design to be concerned there. Published for information of such as are desirous to be interested in that place." Edinburgh, 1685 (small 8vo.) It would be out of place here to enter into any account of this work; but in reference to a circumstance founded on in the "Preliminary Notice," it is proper here to quote from it the following words:—"Having at London, in the year 1679, the opportunity of frequent converse with several substantial and judicious gentlemen concerned in the American plantations, I had thereby the opportunity of understanding thoroughly the great advantage redounding to that city from undertakings of this nature," &c. Page 1.

In January 1685, he had obtained from the Scottish government a "Pass," permitting "and allowing him, with his lady, children, and family, and such other persons as he shall engage, to pass from this kingdom either by sea or land to any of his Majesties foreign plantations; provided such persons to be transported by him be not declared traitors, rebels, fugitives," &c.—"And for his further encouragement, the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council were pleased by an act to condescend, that such as were under bond to compear before them when called, should have up their said respective bonds.

# XVIII

“ upon their going with him ; whereby they were secured from the apprehension of any process to be, in their absence, intended against them upon that head.” Page 269.

In pursuance of the same policy, the Scottish Privy Council thought fit to make a grant to George Scott of nearly an hundred *Covenanters*, who had been for many months confined in Dunotter Castle, to be transported to the plantation in New Jersey. Having embarked the remains of his private fortune in this undertaking, he himself, with his wife, and a great proportion of those on board, were, in the course of the voyage, cut off by a malignant disorder, said to have been occasioned by the putrid state of their provisions. In Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, will be found a detailed account “ of the hardships of the prisoners transported to America with Pitlochy in September (1685.)” B. iii. c. 9. sect. 12.

It has been somewhere remarked that “ this undertaking had such an issue as it deserved.” The reflection seems unmerited, in so far as the unfortunate Pitlochie was concerned. He has not been accused of inhumanity to the prisoners under his charge ; they were the victims of the intolerant policy of the Scottish Government ; and had only to choose between the precarious chances of existence in another hemisphere, and the alternative of a lingering death in the dungeons of Dunotter or the Bass.

The first edition of Melville's Memoirs was published with the following title :—  
 “ The Memoires of Sir James Melvil of Hal-hill ; containing an impartial account of the most remarkable affairs of State during the last age, not mentioned by other historians : more particularly relating to the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, under the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James. In all which transactions the author was personally and publickly concern'd. Now published from the Original Manuscript. By George Scott, Gent. London, Printed by E. H. for Robert Boulter at the Turk's-head in Corn-hill, against the Royal Exchange, 1683.”  
 (In folio.)

To this work is prefixed the following “ Epistle to the Reader :”—

“ As there is scarce any kind of civil knowledge more necessary or profitable than history, (which is therefore very aptly stiled by the ancients, The Mistress of Life,) so of all sorts of history there is none so useful as that which, unlocking the cabinet, brings forth the letters, private instructions, consultations, and negotiations of ministers of state ; for then we see things in a clear light, strip'd of all their paints and disguisings, and discover those hidden springs of affairs, which give motion to all the vast machines and stupendous revolutions of princes and kingdoms, that make such a noise on the theatre of the world, and amaze us with unexpected shiftings of scenes and daily vicissitudes.



"Of this latter kind are those Memoirs wherewith we here oblige the world, being the many years transactions and experiences of an eminent publick minister in his long and faithful services under, and negotiations with several princes, and at as ticklish a juncture and important crisis of affairs as could almost happen in any age; for having, upon the perusal, not only found the same to contain many remarkable passages, not met with in any histories of those times, and in such occurrences as they have touched upon, to be much more exact and full in divers considerable circumstances, but observed it likewise to be furnished with much excellent, plain, honest advice, (delivered by the by,) which might be of great advantage to princes, and with both examples and precepts whereby their counsellors and favourites may be cautioned what just, free, and generous measures they ought to take, if they would not tread the same precipices whereby others have shipwrecked both their masters and themselves; I could not but apprehend myself obliged to communicate such a treasure to the publick, as well for a general good, as, in some measure, to discharge my devoir to the memory of the worthy author, from whom I have the honour to be descended.

"Three things there are essential to any history, and which chiefly recommend it to the esteem of judicious readers.

"1. That the subject-matter be real, and of considerable moment. Women and children may be delighted with, and dote upon romances and silly legends, or listen with attentive admiration to the wars of the pigmies, and adventures of the fairy land. But men of sense always expect solid transactions, and such substantial examples as may be of advantage to improve their judgment in civil wisdom, and the necessary conduct of life.

"2. That the author be capable of knowing what he speaks, and have opportunities to discover the certainty and full circumstances of those affairs, whereof he undertakes to treat.

"3. And lastly, His honesty, that he be a man of impartial veracity, and firm resolution to observe inviolable that prime law of history, *Ne quid falsi audeat dicere, ne quid veri non audeat*—Not to dare deliver any falshood, nor to conceal any truth.

"All which characters are happily met in these Memoirs.

"The matters contained are both lofty and weighty, for they treat of the actions and sufferings of princes and persons of the first rank; open the close consultations and intrigues of several of the ablest ministers of state at that time in Christendom, and shew on what hinges the greatest affairs were turned, and by what artifices managed, so as to be either accomplished or defeated.

"Nor could any gentleman have better advantages to be acquainted with the most

private and reserved scenes of those passages which here he delivers to the world, since in general of all that he writes, he may properly say, *Quorum pars magna fui* ; they are matters within his own circle, and declare such as must of necessity fall within his own notice, since through his hands, and he himself had a principal part in the manage and transacting of them ; being a person concerned in the most knotty affairs (especially relating to Scotland) during his time : and therefore, as *ocularis testis*, his work may challenge that credit which many authors do but beg from the charity of their courteous readers, at least deserves as much or more esteem as any other writers of that time, who in respect of him were but *Aurili*.

“ The author was descended of one of the most honourable families of the kingdom of Scotland, as being third son to the Laird of Raith, and at fourteen years of age was sent by the Queen Regent to be page of honour to her daughter Mary, married to the Dauphin of France. But, by her allowance, he entered into the service of the Duke of Montmorancy (Great Constable of France, chief Minister to Henry II.), who earnestly desired him from her Majesty, having a fancy for the youth’s promising parts. He was nine years entertained and employed by him ; and when he grew up to riper years, and tried abilities in matters of greatest importance, an honourable pension for his greater encouragement was settled upon him by that King.

“ Then being desirous, for his farther accomplishment, to travel, having his Queen’s leave and his master’s permission for that purpose : but passing through Germany, he was detained by the perswasion of the Elector Palatine, and at his earnest entreaties necessitated to condescend to attend at his Court, where he resided three years, being by him employed on several embassies. After which, obtaining his consent to prosecute his former intentions of further travel, he visited Venice, Rome, and the most famous cities of Italy. Returning through Switzerland to the Elector’s Court, he there found a call from Queen Mary, then returned to her kingdom of Scotland, after the death of her husband King Francis, to attend her service.

“ The Queen Mother of France at the same time had offered him a large pension and profitable offices, to engage him to wait upon her service at the Court of France ; she finding it her interest at that juncture to keep good correspondence with the Protestant Princes in Germany, and knowing him to be most acceptable to all of them. But though it appeared most advantageous to his private fortunes to have accepted of her noble offers, yet in this, and at all other times, he preferred his loyalty to his interest, and esteemed himself engaged in duty to serve his natural princess rather than a stranger.

“ Upon his arrival in Scotland, he was admitted a Privy Counsellor and Gentleman

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of her Chamber, being continually employed by her Majesty in matters of her greatest concernments, till her unhappy confinement in Lochlevin : all which he discharged with an exact fidelity. And had she taken his sound advice, many of her misfortunes might have been avoided.

“ He was afterwards noticed by all the four successive Regents in a special manner, and intrusted by them with negotiations of greatest moment ; though after the Queen’s imprisonment he had ever owned the King’s side.

“ When his Majesty King James came to the government, he was especially recommended by the Queen, then prisoner in England, to him, as one most faithful and capable of doing him service. Whereupon he was likewise by his Majesty admitted a member of his most Honourable Privy Council, and of his Exchequer, as also made Gentleman of his chamber, continuing ever in favour and employment till his Majesty’s passage into England, to receive his hereditary right, the crown of that kingdom, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth.

“ The King would gladly have taken him along with him thither, offering him considerable advancements there. But being now stricken in years, and desirous to retreat from the troubles of the world, to spend the remainder of his days in contemplation, begged his Majesty’s permission thereto. However, after the King’s going for London, he found himself in duty engaged once to wait upon his Majesty in that kingdom, and accordingly went thither, and was graciously received ; and having attended there some weeks, humbly giving his Majesty his best advice, no court allurements (whereof he had great store) could prevail with him to alter his former resolutions of privacy ; so that he returned to his own house, where, as in harbour, reflecting on the past voyage of his life, and all the various weather and difficult storms of publick affairs wherein he had been concerned ; to inform the world of the true state of those transactions, and to direct others (especially his children) how to conduct themselves if called to such services, he with his own hand drew up the following Memoirs. How far he deduced them, I cannot certainly determine ; ’tis very probable he had given an account of all till the going of the King to England, though this copy extends not so far. However, thou hast all that I have, and nothing more than what is the author’s, for I should esteem it impiety to obtrude any thing of my own under his name. And I hope the reader will rather accept kindly what is here happily retrieved, than be offended at me for not furnishing him with more than the injuries of time and ill men have left us.

“ And indeed I was not a little encouraged to this publication, by reflecting on the wonderful preservation of so much of it, after so many years, and its then coming so pro-

## XXII

videntially to my hand, it having found the Castle of Edinburgh an asylum till the year 1660, which yet had not been able to afford shelter to the publick records of the kingdom, from the hands of tyrannical usurpers ; though I have not met with any information by what way it came thither, far less how secured so long a space, and amidst so many confusions, being there recommended to no man's particular care, but exposed to the mercy of the rabble ; whence it was wonderfully rescued by Mr Robert Trail, late minister of the Gray-Friars church in Edinburgh, when imprisoned there, to whom the author's hand-writing was exactly known. This Mr Trail, counting it an happiness to have lighted on so great a rarity, knowing the worth and abilities of the author, remitted it to Sir James Melvil of Halhill, the author's grandchild ; from whence it was derived to me ; and having perused it, and thought I should be highly injurious to the publick, if I did not communicate it to the world, together with the author's following Epistle to his Son, in the nature of a Dedication, wherein as he shews his deep insight into the intrigues of Princes courts, so it likewise gives an evident demonstration of his sincerity in what he has herein delivered ; and of his firm affection to vertue and honesty, and detestation of vice, and those flattering arts whereby evil and self-seeking counsellors have often abused the best of Princes.

" This is all I thought necessary to advertise thee of, touching this publication, and so leave it to thy candid perusal.

" GEORGE SCOTT."

As the Address of " The Author to his Son," differs in some respects very materially from the Marchmont Manuscript, it has been thought fit to print it here at length. It will serve at the same time as a specimen of the licence of translation, practised by the Editor of the Memoirs.

" DEAR SON,

" Seeing thou hast shown thyself so willing to satisfy my expectations of the following, and observing many of my former precepts during thy younger years, I grant now unto thy request the more gladly to put in writing, for thy better memory, several passages which thou hast heard me rehearse concerning the life I did lead during my peregrination through the most part of Europe, from the age of fourteen years till this present hour, together with the prosperous success and hard accidents happened to me ; hoping that thou wilt be so wise as to help thyself in time by my faults, and not wait upon the hurtful experience of the common sort, seeing no man can shew the right way better



than he who hath oftentimes chanced upon by-roads; assuring thee that, next unto the special favour of God, nothing stood me in so much stead as the early embracing of unbought experience, by observing the stumbling errors of others. Neither did I ever find anything more dangerous than the frequent slighting to notice any seen example, which was always accompanied with over late repentance.

“The most part of things which I purpose to set down presently, are certain old written memorials which were lying beside me in sundry parcels, treating of matters wherein I have been employed my self by sundry Princes, or which I have seen or observed, being in their countries, (as the purpose of themselves will declare) to serve for an example of life, and better behaviour to thee and thy brother, concerning the service of Princes, and meddling in their affairs, which I could not eschew, for I sought not them, but they me. I enforced my self to serve them more carefully, diligently, and faithfully than any of my companions, whereby I won greatest favour with those who were wise, grave, aged, and experimented; as with the Prince Elector Palatine, and the old Duke of Montmorancy, Constable of France, who had the whole rule and government of the country under King Henry II., his master and mine, who were so constant, that their favour lasted so long as I remained in their service; not without extream and dangerous envy of such of my companions as were naturally inclined to that vile vice, whom I took great pains, by patience, presents, and humility to gain, obliging them by that carriage to lay aside part of their malice. But when it chanced me after to serve Princes of younger years and of less experience, at the first by the like diligence, care, and fidelity, I obtained their favour above the rest of their servants; yet at length they were carried away by the craft and envy of such as could subtilly creep into their favour, by flattery, and by joining together in a deceitful bond of fellowship, every one of them setting out the other as meekest and ablest for the service of their Prince, to the wreck of him and his country, craving the Prince to be secret, and not to communicate his secrets to any but their society. Thus the Prince’s good qualities being smothered with such a company, were commonly led after the passions and particularities of those who shot only at their own marks, some of them continually possessing his ear, and debarring therefrom all honest, true, and plain speakers, so that no more hope could be left of a gracious government, nor place for good men to help their Prince and country, wherethrough fell out many foul, strange, and sad accidents, as may be afterward seen and read: Princes misused and abused, their country robbed, their best and truest servants wrecked, and the wicked instruments at last perished with all their high and fine pretences; others, ay, such-like, succeeding in their place, never one taking example to become more temperate and dis-

creet, because of the destruction of those who went before them, but as highly and fiercely following their greedy, vain, and ambitious pretences, obtaining the like tragical reward. For my part, albeit I had seen, and oft times read of the wreck and backward rewards of all such true faithful servants and counsellors as were most careful of the weal and safety of their Prince, in resisting and gainstanding the devices of the wicked sort, and sometimes minding the Prince not to suffer himself to be led by those who commit so many wrongs and errors at their appetite ; yet I left not off from what I thought my duty, neither for fear nor danger, to oppose myself continually to the false fetches of such minions, until, I must confess, rather following the extremity than the right midst, I lost my credit with the Prince, and tint my reward, reposing over much trust upon their constancy and my good service, which hath been oft an hurtful opinion unto honest men. With over-late repentance I was compelled to lament, as did Monsieur de Boussie when he was left and disliked by his master, crying out, ‘ Alas ! wherefore should men be earnest to surpass their neighbours in worthiness and fidelity ; seeing that Princes who get the fruit of our labours, like not to hear of plainness, but of pleasant speeches, and are easily altered without occasion upon the truest servants ? ’ I perceive well that to continue in their favour, they should not be served with uprightness, but with wyliness ; and instead of using free language for their honour and preservation, their servants should frame and accommodate themselves to their pleasure and will ; which may be easily done by the dullest sort of men : But my daft opinion was, that I might stand by honesty and vertue ; which I find now to be but a vain imagination, and a scholastical discourse, unmeet to bring men to any profitable preferment : And yet my nature will not suffer me to proceed by any other means, I being of the same mind and nature, and, by a just call and command, first of the Queen his Majesty’s mother, and afterward of himself, having more matter and greater warrant than many others, as well to admonish, advertise, and reprove the Prince to gainstand all evil instruments, took the more freedom, finding myself thereto in duty obliged, against the rule given by Seneca to Lucullus, saying, ‘ If thou desirest to be agreeable to great Princes, do them many services, and speak to them few words.’ Plato was of the same opinion, the favour of Princes being obtained with great pain and travel, and retained with great difficulty ; therefore should the wise courtier be careful of offending them, either by gesture, word, or deed : For being once in disgrace with them, they may well forgive, but they shall never be so great with them again, do what they will. Sometimes a man may discreetly put the Prince in remembrance of his long and good service ; but cast not up thy service, nor be importunate in demanding reward : Therefore be not so audacious as to find fault with thy Prince’s



proceedings, nor to give advice unrequired, or advertisements without good grounds of being credited; for Princes notice not any thing but what is told them by their favourites and minions, who commonly seem to allow and take pleasure of whatsoever recreation they find the Prince inclined to; not as by way of flattery, but as by way of yielding, and leaving their own pleasure to take pains to please the Prince; they never appear discontent, although he do not reward them in due time; they never challenge him of breach of promise, in case he break it. In many of these rules I confess I have overshot my self, for too great fervency towards the Prince's service, having never minded my own particular advancement and profit: For otherwise I should have, at the earnest desire of the House of Guise, my old and great acquaintances while I was residing at the Court of France, titled in the Queen's ear, That her rebellious subjects, who had, at their own hands, without her authority, changed religion, should have been exemplarily punished as rebels and traitors: That if she condescended to acquiesce to the establishing the reformed religion, it would be constructed as meanness of spirit, and that she wanted authority to curb such a mutinous people: That it was below her, at the arrogant desire of her nobility, and to remove the idle jealousies of her other subjects, to lay aside Riccio, as being derogatory from her honour, that she could not have liberty to keep about her what servants she pleased; seeing hence there might be ground to alledge there were other bad designs to follow, when in the first place they desired to separate from her such as they knew would be most trusty to her, and in whom she could most confide. This kind of language would probably have most suited her Majesty's humour, and would have procured to myself great bribes from Riccio and his Popish friends for my reward. But I thought it was more the part of a true friend to her Majesty, to acquaint her, that seeing her subjects had now embraced the Protestant religion, looking upon the Popish principles as damning, it was not her interest to do any thing that could give them any jealousy that she intended to alter their religion; that as the entertaining of Riccio gave to all such some apparent ground of harbouring such apprehensions, he being a known enemy to their religion; that having so much of her favour, he would undoubtedly use his endeavours to persuade her to re-establish that religion which she herself professed; so it gave just ground of discontent to the nobility, who would look upon any extraordinary honour confer'd by her Majesty upon a stranger, as highly prejudicial to them, who were as willing and able to serve her as he could be; and reflecting upon their loyalty, as if she had more trust to place in a stranger than in her own native countrymen and born subjects. Had I not more regarded my Princess her interest than mine own, I should have accepted the large offers made me by the Earl



of Bothwell, when he desired me to subscribe with the rest of his flatterers that paper wherein they declared it was her Majesty's interest to marry the said Earl ; but I chose rather to lay myself open to his hatred and revenge, whereby I was afterward in peril of my life : and tell her Majesty, that those who had so advised her, were betrayers of her honour for their own selfish ends, seeing her marrying a man commonly judged her husband's murderer, would leave a tash upon her name, and give too much ground of jealousy, that she had consented to that foul deed. I wanted not fair offers from Randolph and Killegrew, residents here from the Court of England, if I would have in so far complied with their designs, as not to have divulged what I perceived to be their drifts, which I could not conceal, finding them so destructive to the kingdom. I had the fair occasion of making a large fortune to myself, if I would have gone along with the Earl of Arran, by counselling the King's Majesty to follow his violent advices ; but finding them so far contrary to his interest, I did think myself engaged to warn his Majesty, that he was a dangerous man who gave him such advices ; that if he followed the same, he would run himself upon inevitable precipices ; that his Majesty's hearkning to the Duke of Lennox and him, the one a Papist, the other a wicked and ungodly man, would breed jealousies in his subjects' minds, which might produce dangerous effects. This freedom, and many times the like, I took ; which though his Majesty accepted in good part, yet I thereby contracted me store of enemies : But it was always my principle, rather to hazard myself by plain speech when it was necessary, than to expose my master to danger by silence or base flattery. And though the common practice, which I mentioned ere while, may seem to thrive best in some courts for a time ; yet under grave and wise Princes, and at long run, the honest maxims will prove most acceptable and safe : Therefore, I willingly opened these things to thee, that thou mayst as well know what is usually done, as what ought to be. There is a certain discretion to be used, that is free both from sawciness and assentation ; and a man may many times, if he skill it aright, give his Prince good counsel, contrary to his inclinations, yet without incurring his displeasure. This thou oughtest to study, if ever thou be called to publick affairs ; and though thou mayst bend with the necessity of some accidents, and yield to the times in some things, though not going just so as thou would have matters to go ; and humour the Prince in an ordinary business, to gain opportunity of doing greater good to him and thy country at a more lucky season ; yet be sure that thou never engage in any disloyalty, cruelty, or wickedness, nor suffer any thing to pass that thou seest will tend to his ruin or grand prejudice, without noticing it to him in some humble manner : And though for that time it be disrelishing or alighted, yet when he

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sees the effects follow that thou admonishedst him of, he will love thee the better, and rather hearken to honest advice for time future. And withal thou wilt obtain the favour and blessing of Almighty God, whom thou must at all times endeavour faithfully and uprightly to serve, if ever thou expectest bliss in this or the other world ; to whose gracious Providence I commit thee, with the hearty well wishes and benison of

“ Thy Dearly Loving Father,

“ JAMES MELVIL.”

The second edition of Melville's Memoirs, was published at Edinburgh in the year 1735, in octavo. The following advertisement was prefixed :—

“ The character of Sir James Melvil, the author of the following Memoirs, being so well known to all that are conversant in the transactions of those times in which he wrote, and particularly, his great candour and impartiality, as well as his deep knowledge in the affairs which he relates, and in which he himself had a considerable share, being so much celebrated by some of the best historians who have appeared since his time, it is not to be expected that any thing that we can say concerning him or his performance will add any new recommendation to them. All that is incumbent on us is, to inform our readers, that the copies of the former edition being long since sold off, and now very rarely to be met with, except in the libraries of the curious, we were prevailed upon, by the advice of several judicious and learned gentlemen, to undertake this new edition. In doing whereof, great care has been taken to rectify several mistakes and errors that had escaped in the former edition ; particularly in the names of persons and places, whether occasioned by the faultiness of the copy, or, which is more probable, by the ignorance of the printer, who has therein also misled the French translator of it in several instances. We have moreover been at no small pains to adjust the pointing of the sentences, which has been so much neglected in the former editions, as in many places to render the author's sense obscure, and sometimes altogether unintelligible ; which any who compares the two editions together, will easily discover. Finally, that nothing might be wanting on our part, we have corrected the Index in a great many places, and rendered it more accurate and useful than the former one. Upon the whole, we may venture to hope, that this Work, besides the considerable abatement made in the Price, will come abroad with several advantages above what it had in the first publication of it.”

The work was reprinted at Glasgow in 1751 ; 12mo.

## XXVIII

A Translation into French was published at the Hague in 1694 ; 2 tom. 8vo.—It was reprinted at Lyons in 1695 ; and at Amsterdam in 1704.

A new or improved Translation appeared in 1745, under the following title —“ *Memoires de Melvil, traduits de l'Anglois, avec des additions considerables.—A Edimbourg, Chez Barrows et Young, M.DCC.XLV, 3 tom.*” small 8vo. The work was evidently printed abroad. The additions, which fill the third volume, consist of Letters, written chiefly by Queen Mary, selected from various printed works. There is prefixed the following “ *Avertissement* :”—

“ Les Memoires que l'on donne au public ne doivent pas lui être inconnus—Ils ont parû en françois il y a près de 50 ans. Mais le stile de cette traduction est fort suranné, et d'ailleurs elle est si rare, qu'elle ne se trouve presque plus que dans les grandes Bibliothèques, et dans les cabipets de quelques Scavans. Un grand Magistrat a désiré que l'on donnât à ces Memoires une nouvelle forme, et m'a fait l'honneur de me charger de ce travail. J'ai donc refondu entièrement cette traduction, je me suis appliqué à la rendre conforme à l'original Anglois, dont le traducteur s'etoit quelquefois écarté, et je l'ai augmentée d'un volume qui a une liaison naturelle avec ces Memoires. C'est un recueil des lettres de Marie Stuart, les unes originales, les autres traduites de l'Anglois et du Latin. J'ajouterai aux eclaircissemens que l'Editeur Anglois nous a donnés au sujet de ces Memoires, le jugement que M. l'Abbé de M. en porte dans l'Histoire de Marie Stuart. ‘ Melvil etoit le contemporain, le Ministre, et l'ami de la Reine d'Ecosse . . . . Ses Memoires sont le plus précieux monument historique de son regne. . . . Ils sont écrits avec cette simplicité et cette candeur qui font le caractère de l'honnête homme, et qui inspirent la confiance. . . . Il suivoit sans passion le parti de l'erreur où le malheur de sa naissance l'avoit engagé ; et il ne montre ni fiel ni partialité contre les Catholiques.’ ”

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**COMPARATIVE SPECIMENS OF THE HANDWRITING  
OF SIR JAMES MELVILLE.**

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**No. I. Extracts from the Manuscript of Sir James Melville's Memoirs,  
in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir G. H. Rose.**

**No. II. An Original Letter from Sir James Melville to Sir Thomas  
Randolphe, in the Lansdowne Collection of Manuscripts, now in the  
British Museum; Burghley Papers, Num. xv. 20.**

No. I.

MS. Memoirs, Page 113.

The Regent, wha had bene brocht be his facilitate to brek with the Duc of Norfolk, repented him again sa schone as Liddingtoun had schawen him the danger, and desyrit the accusation to be renderit to him again; alleging that he had some mair to add vnto it. Bot they said, that they wald hald that quhilk they had, and wer redy to receaue any vther addition when he pleased to geue it in. The Duc of Norfolk had enough ado to keip his contenance; Mester Jhon Wod winket vpon the secretary Cicill, wha smyled again vpon him; the rest of the Regentis company wer lauchen vpon other; the secretary Liddingtoun had a sair hart. The Regent cam fourth of the consaill house with the tear in his eye, and past to his loging at Kingistoun, a myll from court, wher his factious frendis had enough ado to comfort him.

. . . . .

MS. Memoirs, Page 161.

The vrgent necessite of the tym, maist noble and excellent prince, causes me to be sa langsome and tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and hartly kissing your Maiesteis hand, I prey the eternell, Sir, to grant your hyenes ane lang and happy lyf. From Halhill, this 15 of October, 1583.

Your Maiesteis maist humble and obedient seruitour,

JAMES MELVILLE.



The regent who had come brought his father to break at the door of Norfolk  
 reported him again so some as Liddington said so many times the danger. and supposed  
 the accusation to be evident to him again alluring that he had some men to add  
 unto it, but they said that they would take that quickly they said, and was ready to  
 receive any other addition when he pleased to give it. The duke of Norfolk  
 had amongst a do to keep his reputation, might they not think upon the ser-  
 vants still, who singed again upon him, the rest of the regent's company was  
 laughing upon him, the servants Liddington had a fair part. The regent was  
 frowny of the result long at the door in his day, and past to his lodging at  
 King's house a myll from west, who his father's friend had amongst a do to run  
 for him,

The regent's message of the hym. most noble and excellent prince  
 me to be so long and tedious surely valuing your and partly  
 kissing your most hand. I pray the sheweth  
 Sir to grant your hym and long and happy life. from Solihull  
 15. of October. 1583.

Your most humble and obedient servant.  
 James McMillan

A army he was wont to retire from, in  
placem, every so and so degrees to a quiet man-  
tyling, content with the porters using god for  
me; We have also mount the surty of my  
and the nobilitie to be protectours of my  
quell in such that if mythe any remove  
now despoil of negotiations, it must tell to  
of yet more fair than ye have maid, and  
must be the same and must be the same  
and so must be the same, and so  
must be the same, we not that ye are  
lately maid I would pite your name  
may yet be rest but is still occupied in  
occupations, whereby it apper that for an  
for you the Cozage be your friend, and  
and so must be the same, and so must be the same;

The office of Governor  
Sir Thomas Fawcett  
one of the Queen's  
England; ambassador  
in Scotland.



The regent who had come broght to his father to brot ut the due of norfolk  
 repented him again so for some at heddingtons said for some him the danger. and desired  
 the attorney to be vnder to him again allaying that he had some more to add  
 unto it, but they said that they would take that quickly they said, and was ready to  
 receive any other addition when he pleased to give it. The due of norfolk  
 had amongst a do to keep his reputation, might they not think upon the pro-  
 tary still, who sought again upon him, the rest of the regent's party was  
 causing upon other, the provisor heddingtons had a fair part. The regent was  
 for most of the result long ut the town in his day, and past to his lodging at  
 King's house a myll from west, where his father's friend had amongst a do to run  
 for him,

The regent's message of the fynes, most noble and excellent persons compe-  
 me to be so long some and tedious surely valuing your and partly  
 keeping your most land. I pray the sheweth  
 Sir to grant your fynes and long and partly by. from Solbell  
 15. of October. 1583.

Your most mayt humble and obedient servant.  
 James McMillan

A an my lre we want to return them in  
placem, only so am I desirous to a quiet ma-  
tyling, content with the porters, wch god send  
me; we shal also merit the favor of my  
and the nobilitie to be protectours of my  
quilt in such that I mythe am environed  
now despoyn of negociatione, I can tell  
of y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> fair Jane y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> maid, an  
mye Relligious and mye Walsingham,  
and soe mye Iow downe doer, and soe  
marvell in prosperite, we not that y<sup>e</sup>  
lately maid I wald pte your name  
may yet na rest bot is still occupied w<sup>th</sup> her  
occupations, wch by it apper that for an p-  
for you the Cozage be your friend, and  
ye p<sup>ro</sup>vid it y<sup>e</sup> self, y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> arer  
I have remembred a fyve opinion that y<sup>e</sup>  
same sould be till fower w<sup>ch</sup> we not to  
be as lthly mynded till yearly our bond  
start wch by y<sup>e</sup> may w<sup>ch</sup> away the w<sup>ch</sup>  
opinion of the bulgare but be lthly the w<sup>ch</sup>  
and now and the w<sup>ch</sup> speak the p<sup>ro</sup>son  
What so am ye be that p<sup>ro</sup>viden my quiet  
and spirit w<sup>th</sup> any busynesse well get a p<sup>ro</sup>-  
p<sup>ro</sup>vide as alexander sad of dreyne, wch I  
be lthly by and the p<sup>ro</sup>vide the few I p<sup>ro</sup>-  
favour my quietude, and find na fault the  
p<sup>ro</sup>vide not till now wch ye ar, for my ad-  
foward y<sup>e</sup> of and on so vnted, that it may  
yet a grete ston and a more casement blast  
it may be blame, out and away, soebeit I  
get matter and ston of flyng hapny for  
10

James  
of March  
1871

## No. II.

As armytis wer wont to retire them in solitary places, euen so am I drawen to a quyet maner of lyving, content wyth the portion which God has geuen me, wha has also mouit the hartis of my l. Regentis g. and the nobilite to be protectours of my quyetnes; quhilk is such that I neyther am curious of newes nor desirous of negotiations. I couet till vnderstand of your weilfair sene ye was maried, and how mester Killigrewe and mester Wakingame dois, and how mester Dru Drowrie dois, and how the marchall is in prosperete. Wer not that ye ar bot laitly maried, I wald pitie your caice that can get na rest bot is still occupied with combersome occupations, wherby it apperis that sic as procured for yow this voyage wes your frend, and gene ye procured it your self, ye was your awen frend. I haue conceaued a fyrm oppinion that ye wald haue schifted till fairer wether, wer not that ye ar vtterly myndit till peacefy our troublit estait, wherby ye may wyp away the wicked oppinion of the vulgaire that beleues the contrary, and now and then will speak ther ple-sour. What so euer he be that parturbes my quyet lyf and estait with any busynes will get as mekle thanks as Alexander had of Deogines, when he stod betwix hym and the sonne; therefore I pray yow fauour my quyetnes and find na falt that I presse not till com wher ye ar, for my affection toward yow of auld is sa ruted, that it most be yet a greter storm and a more vehement blast before it can be blawen out and away, Howbeit, I haue yet matter and store of flyting keping for conuenient tym. this with my hartly commendations I tak my leif, preying the eternell till send a gud succes to your affaires concern-yng concord. Wreten at mordow karny this xiiij day of marche.

Your crabit auld and constand

affectioned frend

JAMES MELVILLE.

*(In dorso.)*

To the Rycht Honorable  
Sir Thomas Randolphe, Knycht,  
one of the Quenes matela.  
. . . inglandis ambassadours  
presently in Scotland.



**MEMORIALIS BE SIR JAMES MELVILLE,**  
**SPECEFEING OF MATTERS WHERINTILL HE HES BENE EMPLOYED**  
**BE SINDRIE FRINCES OR HAS SEEN AND VNDERSTAND**  
**BEING IN THER COURTIS OR CONTREES,**  
**TO SERUE FOR AN EXEMPLER OF LYF AND BETTER BEHAUOUR**  
**TO HIS SONNIS CONCERNING THE SERUICE OF PRINCES**  
**AND MEDLING IN THER AFFAIRES.**

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**M.D.XLIX.—M.D.XCIII.**





## THE AUTHOR TO HIS SON.

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P. 1. **S**ONE, ſen thou hes ſchauē thy ſelf ſa willing to ſatiſfie my expectation of the, in folowing and obſeruyng many of my formar preceptis during thy yong yeares, I grant now vnto the thy requestis the mair glaidly, quhilk is to put in wret for thy better memorie findrie thingis that thou had hard me rehers betymes, baith concernyng maneris, with ſome meit preceptis for thy barnely age; and alſo how to temper the rage of furious youth be the reull of godlynes and raiſoun; quhilk tua tretifes haue ſerued alſo vnto the reſt of thy brether and ſiſters. And now entring in rype age, to let the wit what tred of lyf I had led during my perigrination throw the maiſt part of Europe, from the age of 14. yeares vntill this preſent day, together with the proſperous ſucces and hard accidentis happenit vnto me in the mean tyme; hopping that thou ſalbe na les ernest and diligent to help thy ſelf be my faltis in dew tyme, and not tary vpon the hurtfull experience of the commoun ſort, ſen na man can ſchaw the richt way better than he that has oft tymes chancit vpon by roddis. Affſuring the that, nyxt vnto the ſpeciall fauour of God, nathing ſtode me in



mair stede then the eirly embrassing of vnbocht experience be the stombling errorrs of vthers, nor fand nathing mair domegeable then the omitting oft tymes of any sean exemple, quhilk brocht euer with it oure lait repentance.

The maist part of thingis that I purpos to set down presently ar certane auld wreten memorialis that wer lying befyd me in findrie pieces, specefeing of matters wherintill I haue bene employed my self be findrie princes, or has seen and vnderstand being in ther courtis or countrees, (as the purposes of them selues will declare) to serue for an exemplar of lyf and better behauour to the and thy brether, concerning the seruice of princes and medling in ther affaires, quhilk I culd not eschew; for I focht them not bot they me, yet enforcit my self to serue them mair cairfully diligently and faithfully than any of my compaignons; wherby I wan gretest fauour with them that wer wyse grave aged and experimented, as with the Prince Electour Palatin and auld Duc of Momorency Constable of France, wha had the haille reull and gouvernement of the contrey vnder K. Henry 2. his maister and myn; wha wer sa constant that ther fauour lasted sa lang as I remanit in ther seruice, not without the extrem and dangerous enuy of sic of my compaignons as wer naturally inclynit to that vill vice; whom I tok gret paines also be patience presentis and humilite till won, and to set aside part of ther malice. Bot when it chancit me efterwart to serue princes of yonger yeares and of les experience, at the first of ther princely naturell I also anes, be the lyk diligence cair and fidelite, obtenit ther fauour abone many of the rest of ther seruandis; yet at lenth they wer caried away be the craft and enuy of sic as culd subtilly creip into ther conceatis be flattery, and be juning them selues to-

P. 2. gether in ane desceatfull felowfchip; euery ane of them fetting out others as meateft and ableft for the feruice of ther maifter, to the weall of him and his contrey; craving the prince to be fecret and not to communicat his fecretis or any of his adois bot to ther fociete. Sa the princes kyndly and gud qualites being cled and fmored with fic a company, wer commonly and fklauifchly led efter the paffions and particularites of them that fchot only at ther awen markis; fome of them continually poffeffing his ear, and debarring therfra all honeft trew and plain fpeakers, fa that na mair hope wald be left of a gracious gouernement, nor place for gud men to help ther prince and contrey. Wherthrow fell out many foull ftrange and hard accidentis, as may be fean and red heir-efter, of princes fa miffufed and abufed, ther contrey perturbed, ther beft and treweft faruandis wrakit, and the wicked instrumentis at lenth periffit with all ther hich and fyn pretences; vthers ay fic lyk fucceding in ther place, never ane taking example to becom mair temperat and difcret at the deftruction of ther deuanciers, bot as fercely follouing ther gredy vain and ambitious pretences, obtening the lyk tragicall rewardis. For my part, albeit I had fean and oftymes red of the wrak and backward rewardis of all fic trew faithfull confellours and faruandis as wer maift cairfull for the weill and faiffete of ther prince, in refifting and gainftanding the deuyces of the wickit fort, and fometyms the prince for fuffering them felues to be fa led be them as to commit many wrangis and errours at ther appetit, I left not aff nather for fear nor danger till oppon and withftand fa continually againft the falfe fetchis of fic mingnons, vntill I mon confels therby rather following the rud extremyte then the richt midis, I loft my credit with the prince and tint my reward; reposing ouermekle vpon ther conftancy and my gud

seruice, quhilk hes bene oft ane hurtfull oppinion vnto honest men, with ouer lait repentance. I was compellit to lament, as did Mon<sup>r</sup>. de Buffy when he was left and mislyked be his maister, crying out, "Alace wherfore suld men be earnest till surpasse ther marrowes in worthynes and fidelite, feing that princes wha getis the fruit of our labours lykis not to hear of plaines, bot of plaisant speaches, and ar easely alterit without occasion vpon ther trewest seruandis: I persuaue weall that for to continow in ther fauour, they suld not be serued with vprichtnes bot with wylynes; and insteid of fre langage for ther honour and preservation, till fram and accommod our selues to ther pleasour and will, quhilk may be easely done be the doildest fort of men: Bot my daft oppinion was that I mycht stand be honestie and vertu, quhilk I find now to be bot a vain imagination and a scoleasticall discours, vnmeit to bring men till any profitabill preferrement; and yet my naturell," said he, "will not suffer me till proceed be any vther meanis." I being of the same mynd and natour, and be a iust calling and command first of the Quen his maiesteis mother and afterwart of him self, had mair matter and a greter warrand then many vthers, alsweill till admonisch advertis and reprove the prince as till gainstand all euell

r. 3. instrumentis; against the reull geuen be Seneca to Lucilius, saying, Gif thou desyres to be agreable to gret princes, do them many seruices and speak to them few wordis; Plato being of the same oppinion. The fauour of princes being obtenit be gret pain and trauell and retenit with gret difficulte; therfoir suld the wyse courteour be laith till offend them, eyther be gestour word or dede; for being anes in disgrace with them, they may weill forgif, bot thou sall never be sa gret with them again do what thou will. Sometymes a man may discretly put

the prince in remembrance of his lang and gud seruice, bot caſt not oft vp his ſeruice, nor be not importun nor ſa audacious as to find falt with the princes proceedingis; nor to geue aduylſe vnrequyred, nor aduertiffement without gud affurance to get credit; for princes lykis not nor takis na head bot to fic thingis as ar tald them be ther fauoritis and mingnons, wha commonly ſeem to allow, and to tak pleaſour of whatſoeuer paſtym or occupation that they can perſaue ther prince to be maiſt inclynit vnto, not as be way of flattery, bot be way of yelding and leaving their auen pleſour, to tak panes to pleiſe the prince and till aſſiſt him in fic honeſt paſetym as he delitis intill; and will neuer ſeem to be miſcontent with the prince, albeit he reward them not in dew tym; nor reproche him of his promyſe incaice he brek it, nor that he has done better till vthers that haue not ſa weall deſerued. In many of thir reules I confeſs that I haue oft tymes ouerſhot my ſelf, for ouer gret feruency towardis the princes ſeruice, and ouer gret forgetfulnes of my auen particulair aduancement and proffit.

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## SIR JAMES MELVILLE'S MEMOIRS.

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**OUR** yong Quen Marie being contractit with Kyng Edwart the fext then only heritour of England as hir Maieſte was of Scotland, that this haill yll mycht be junit in ane monarchie, hir Maieſte be the practyes of hir Frenche parentis and Scotis prelatis was tranſported in France be the weſt ſea. Wherupon fell out a furious wair betuen the twa contrees, to the loifs of many Scotifmens lyves at the battaill of Pincky, wherin France wer gret medlers and ſend heir a ſex thowſand men of wair, and alſo Jehan de Monluc biſhop of Vallance for ambaffadour to the Gouvernour, and Quen mother fiſter to the Duc of Guiſe. And when the ſaid ambaffadour was to retourn in France, it pleiſit the Quen to ſend me with him to be placit paige of honour with the Quen hir dochter, I being then 14. yeares paſt. Bot the ſaid biſhop paſt firſt in Yreland, be commandement of the King his maiſters letter, to knaw mair particulairly the motion and lyklyhead of the offers maid be Onell, Odonell, Odocart and Caloch, willing to caſt off the yok of England and becom ſubiect to the King of France, provyding that he wald procure the Paipes gift of Yreland, and then ſend to ther help 2000 hacbuters 200 leicht horſe men and four canons.

- P. 4. The said ambassadour schippit in at Vruyng in the moneth of Januar the year 1549 toward Yreland, and was stormefted be the way in a little yll callit Sand yll before Kiltyre, wher we wer compellit to tary xvij dayes be raisoun of the storme. From Sande we failed towardis Yreland, bot the storme was yet fa extream that with gret danger of the schip and of our lyues we entrit in at the mouth of Lochfeull in Yreland, vpon Fastrons euen in the said year 1549; for the skipper and marineris had tint all hope of saiffetie, having left ther ankers cutted behind them the nycht before. Before our landing we sent ane George Paris, who had bene sent in Scotland from the gret Onell and his associatis, wha landit at the house of a gentilman that had married Odocartis dochter dwelling at the loch ege, wha cam in to our schip and welcomed vs, and convoyed ws to his hous wher we rested that nycht. The nyxt mornyng Odocarte cam ther and convoyed ws to his hous quhilk was a gret dark tour, wher we had cauld cheir as hering and biskuit, for it was lentroun. Ther finding twa English grey freris that wer fled out of England, for K. Edward the 6. was yet alyue, the said freres persaving the bischop to mak a compt of Odocartis dochter, wha fled him continowally, they brocht to him a woman that spak Englis to ly with him; whilk harlet being keped quyetly in his chamber, fand a little glafs within a kaice standing in a window, for the coffers wer all wet be the sea wallis that fell in the schip during the storm. Bot sche beleuit it had bene ordonit to eat because it had ane odoriphant smell, therefore sche lickit it clean out; quhilk put the bischop in sic a rage that he cryed out for impatience, and discoverit his harlettrie and his colair in sic fort as the freris fled and the woman folowed. Bot the Yrisch men and his auen saruandis leuch at the matter, for

it was a phioll of the only maist precious balm that grew in Egipt, whilk Solyman the gret Turc had geuen in a present to the said bischop efter he had bene twa yeares ambassadour for the K. of France in Turkey, and was esteamed worth twa thousand crownis. In this mean tym that we remanit at Odocartis house, his yong dochter wha fled fra the bischop cam and socht me wher euer I was, and brocht a preist with hir that culd speak Englis, and offerit gif I wald mary hir to goe with me till any part wher I pleafit,—after I had geuen hir thankis, and schew that I was yet yong and had na rentis and was boun till France.

Now the ambassadour met at a quyet part with Onell and his affistors and hard ther offers and ouertures. And ther cam and met him the Patriark of Yreland wha was a Scotis man born callit Wachop, and was blind of baith his eyn, yet had bene dyuers tymes at Rome be post. He did gret honour to the ambassadour, and convoyed him to see S<sup>t</sup> Patrikis purgatorie, quhilk is lyk ane auld cole hugh that had tane fyre, be raifoun of the reak that ascendit out of the holl. From Odocartis hous we went to the dwelling place of the bischope of Roy, not far from the narow firth that runns throw Lochfeull to the sea. The said Earisch bischop had bene also at Rome; and ther we rested a thre weekis, tarieing vpon ane lomfaid or heland bark quhilk James Maconell fuld haue send from Kiltyre with his brother Angus to cary ws bak to Dombartane; quhilk being com for ws, we parted to ane castell quhilk the said Maconell had in Yreland, and fra that we inbarkit and rested a nycht in the yll of Jura, and the nyxt nycht in the yll of But. Bot be the way we tint our ruddour and was in gret perell of drownynge; bot Angus efter he had tane down the saill said that we wer saif, and had drownit wer not that ded of his.



P. 5. When we cam to Kiltyre James Maconell traited ws honorably, and said that the bishop was the welcommer for my faik, becaufe he was frendly intraited of my father when he was wardit in the castell of Dombartane during the tym that my father was capten therof; of whom he maid ane honorable report to the said bishop,—occasion that I was ay the langer the better traited; for the bishop said he beleuit to haue bene rather welcom for that he was recommendit be the Quen dquagier as ambaffadour to the K. of France. Alwais Maconell wald haue me to sit at the head of the burd. Efter he had cased land ws at Dombartane be his said brother Angus, we raid to Stirling, wher efter aucht dayes the ambaffadour tok his leaue at the Quen and raid again to Dombartane, wher ther wer twa Frenche schippis (that had brocht filuer in Scotland to pay the French soldiours) redy to refaue ws. Sa failing by the yll of Man and langis the fouth coist of Yreland, we landit at Conquet in Britany aucht dais efter our inbarking, not without some dangers be the way baith of Englis schippis and a gret storme, sa that anes at midnycht the marineris cryed that we wer all loift.

At Breft in Britany the bishop tok post toward the court of France, quhilk was in Paris for the tym. And becaufe I was yong and he supponit I mycht not indure the post, he directed twa Scottis gentilmen with whais father he was acquainted in Scotland to be cairfull for me be the way; for we bocht thre little naigis to pas be journey ryding to Paris. He also requested the said twa brether to be cairfull for me and not to let me want any necessary thing be the way, quhilk he fuld recompense at meting. He left with me sa mekle filuer as to by a naig and to be my expences till Paris. Now we thre inquyred and fand out twa yong men, the ane a Frenchman the other a Britone,

that wer to ryd that fame way ; as also a yong gentilman of Spain wha was paffing also to the college at Paris. Our first dayes journey from Breft was to a town callit Laderny, wher we wer all sex logit in a chamber with thre bedis. The tua Frenche had ane bed, the tua Scotis another, and the yong Spainart and I the thrid bed. Firft I hard the twa Scottifmen devyfen how they wer directed be the bifchop to let me want nathing ; “ therefore” faid they “ we will pay for his ordinair all the way, and fall compt vp twyfe as mekle to his mafter when we com to Paris, and fa fall wone our awen expences.” Then the twa Frenche not beleving that any of us vnderftod Frenche wer faying betuen tham, “ thir ftrangers ar all yong, and knawes not the faffion of the hofteleries, therefore we fall deall and reken with the oiftis at euery repaft and fall caufe the ftrangers pay mair nor the custome is, and that way fall we faif our expenfis,” and went about the nyxt day to put it in execufion. Bot I culd not refrain lauching in my mynd, and tald the yong Spainart, for I vnderftod alredy the Frenche, fa we war vpon our gardis. Yet the tua Scotis yong men wold not confent that I fuld pay for myfelf, hopping ftill to begyll the bifchop, but the Spainart and I wret vp euery dayes compt. Be the way ryding throw a wood the tua Frenchemen had appointed vther tua femyng to ryd with ws, quhilk tua in the midis of the wood leichted aff ther horfe and drew out ther fuerdis. The twa Frenchemen behalding our contenance and feing that we maid us for deffence, they tua drew out also ther fuerdis. Than they maid a fport of it, and wald bot fe as they allegit wha wald be feared and wha wald be ftout, in caice we mycht be fet vpon be brigandis betuen that and Paris. Bot the tua laft lowns left vs at the nyxt loging, and the twa Scotis fcollairs never obtenit paye-

P. 6. ment fra the bifchop, for ther pretendit fraud. We wer xiiij dayes in ryding betuen Brest and Paris, wher we arryuit efter Paice in the moneth of Aprill the year 1550.

The fpaice of a moneth efter our arriuall at Paris, the bifchop of Vallence was fent to Rome, and becaufe he tok poft he left me behind him at Paris to learn to play vpon the lut and to wret Frenche. I can not tell wherfore he prefented me not to our yong Quen as he promyfed; albeit efterwart he faid that he was myndit to mak me his air.

The caufe wherfore the K. of France fend him to Paip Jules is this. Paip Paull the 3. had changit fome landis of the kirk with Parme and Plaifance, twa townis appartenyng of befoir to the ducky of Mylan, and gaue them to his fone Piere Louys Farnez, wha married his eldeft fone Octauius vpon the bastard dochter of themperour Charles V. The faid Piere Louys being mourdrift for his detestable vyces, the nyxt Paip callit Jules pretendit to bring again the faid twa townis to the kirk, in ftead of the other kirklandis that wer escambiond for them; compelling the Duc Octauius, (finding him felf onable to gainftand the Paipes forces) to put the faid townis in the K. of Frances custody; for he was in afgret fear of themperour his gud father, wha had gottin the poffeffion of the ducdome of Mylan. And to that effect he fend his brother Orace Duc of Cafters in France, to whom K. Henry 2. of France gaif his bastard dochter in mariage; the K. of France being as ernest to have a fut in Ytaly as was themperour to ftop him therfra, be raifoun of Mylan and Neaples quhilk the K. claimed and themperour had in poffeffion. And fa fchon as he faw the Frenche garnifouns within the town of Parma he tok plaine part with the Paip; quhilk moued the K. of France to pratek a paice with K. Edward the fext of Eng-

land, be the meanis of the Duc of Northumberland, wha in secret had a strait frendship with France, and had a mark of his auen that he schot at, as his proceedingis efterwart declaired.

The paice with England being concludit, that K. Edward fuld mary Elyzabeth eldest dochter to K. Henry 2. of France, and that he fuld geue his consent that the Quen of Scotland wha was betrowthed to him fuld be married with Francois Delphin of France, in quhilk paice Scotland being also comprehendit, in the mean tym the bischop of Vallence returnyng fra Rome without any acceptable expedition, wer causes also that the dealling betwen France and Onell of Yreland ceffit. And in the mean tym the K. of France set fourth ane proclamation forbidding his haill subiectis not to send to Rome for any bulles or confirmation of benifices; quhilk togither with the agrement with England pat the Paice in a gret fear that France wald become protestantis for dispyt, as K. Hary the 8. had done laitly of before; and was the mair confirmed in this oppinion be raifoun of ane army that was schortly efter maid redy to pass in Germany to the aid of the princes protestantis, wher the K. Henry 2. led him self in persone l. thousand men. For then many of the Germanis wer becom protestantis, throw the insolent avarice of the Paice and schameles proceedingis of his fellers of pardones, and be the zeall and baldnes of Martin Luter; wha being perfecuted therfore, was menteanit and affited be the gud Duc Jhon Frederik of Sax, with the Landgraue and other princes of the empyre.

Wherupon themperour Charles 5. tok occasion, vnder pretext of menteaning the catholik Romain religion, to pretend to bring the empyre and haill dominions therof as patrimony to him and his posterite;

and that way abandonit his gud sone the Duc Octauio to the Paipes discretion, for his greter assistance against the Germanis; quhilk pretence the emperor brought anes till a neir passe. For efter that the emperor had vincit the protestantis in battail and tane prisoner the Duc Jhon Frederik, he past throw the maist part of the provinces and fre townes of Dutcheland and tok fra them ther liberties, placing officers at his pleasure; and gat fra them of giftis and ransomis xvj hundreth thousand crownis and v hundreth piece of artillerie. Yet he redoutted the Landgraue, wha was a vaillyant prince and chancit to be absent from the said battail. Therefore he delt with the Duc Maurice gud sone to the said Landgraue to perswad his gud father to com in vnder assurance and promys, quhilk the emperor brak, retenyng the said Landgraue captiue vpon the subtilite of a fillabe.

This Duc Maurice was cusing to the Duc of Sax captiue, and had obtainit the electorat of Sax, quhilk the emperor tok fra the Duc his cusing and gaif him; wherfore he assisted with the emperor as a fyn courteour, and helped him gretly in his victories against his contrey and frendis for promotion. Bot when the Landgraue cryed out vpon him, calling him schelm, poltroun, traitour, and disceauer of him whais dochter he had married, he maid oft tymes earnest fut to the emperor for the libertie of his gud father in vain; the emperor alleging na promys to be broken vnto the said Landgraue, causing the letter of promys and pacification to be red in his presens in the Dutch leid, wherintill ther was a wreten word quhilk mycht haue bene interpret dyuersly; to wit this word *enig* was interpret be the emperor *perpetuell*, and be the Landgraue and Duc Maurice it was tane for *null* or

*nane* ; bot they culd not mend them felues, for themperour said that the Landgraue fuld not be keped in perpetuell prifoun. Sa the Landgraue was tua yeares fa ftraitly keped be the Spaniartis that oft in the nycht they held a leicht candle to his faice to be affured that he was fleping, and angred him fa that for difpyt he wald spit in ther faices ; crying out continoually againft Maurice, wha was not flepen, bot had fent fecretly to the K. of France, declairing how not only his gud father and he wer fa difceaued and mifufed be themperour, bot alfo how that he had begun alredy to raue the liberties of the empyre, to change the eftait in a monarchie, againft his aith and promyse maid at his election and crounation ; and that, vnder pretext till fuppreffs heresies, fa affifted be the Paip that he was lyk to prevaill ; preing the King not till fuffer them that wer his frendis to be fa opprest, nor his compeditours to ryfe ouer gret. Wherupon the faid K. tok occafion till convoy his armye in Allemaigne, feamyng to feak ther liberte ; he tok and pat him felf in poffeffion in his by paffing, of Mets, Tow and Verdun, thre gret Imperiall townis and bifchoprickis, quhilk he bruikis to this hour.

In the mean tym the Duc Maurice, lying at the feige of Madebourg lieutenant for themperour, making na mair femblance of mifcontentement for the Landgraues retention, bot rather feamyng to be fa oblift vnto themperour that had fa hichly aduancit him, lyk a fyn courteour that he wald fet forduart all his maifters procedingis and commandementis be they richt or wrang. Yet the Duc of Alb allegit in fecret confaill with themperour that Maurice lingert ouer lang at the feige of the faid toun, and that he was to be fufpected becaufe themperour had offendit him. Bot Granvell bifchop of Arras in the contraire said that

fic doild Dutch dronken headis nedit not to be doutted ; and then that tua of the faid Dukis confellours wer penfioners to his facred Maiefte, and aduertift him continowally of all the Dukis maift fecret deliberations and doingis. Yet they thocht expedient to fend for the Duc, to fe gif he wald obey or mak fome excufe.

P. 8. Bot the Duc Maurice had the fubtilite afgret as any Spaniard of themperours confaill, and knew weill enough how that themperour had pratikit tua of his fecretaires and confellours ; difcembling to know any thing therof, aperit till do nathing by them, and to deliberat all his enterpryses in ther prefens, wherby themperour was abufed ; and when the faid Duc was wreten for, he tok poft incontinent towardis the court, having in his company ane of the fuburnit confellours ; whom he fent before till affure themperour that he was folowing at leafer, be raifown of a fairnes in his fyd quhilk vfed fometymes to vex him. Bot the Duc had fecretly commandit his lieutenant to bring efter him the haill army with all poffible diligence and till marche nycht and day, fa that he furpryfed themperour ; wha was compellit to ryfe from his fupper and fle fourth of Ynsbruck with torche liecht, and fa vtterly out of Dutcheland that he fet never his fut within it again.

This being done he fent to the K. of France, wha was with his armye befyd Strawfbourg, geving him gret thankis for his paines, aduertiffing him of themperours fleing, praing him to return hame with his armye ; for Maurice was miscontent of the taking of the thre Imperiall townis ; and in the mean tym haifted throw the contre and reftored euery fre town and circle to ther formair liberteis.

Themperour again fearing to be compellit, fet at liberte the Duc of Sax and the Landgraue of Hefle. Finding him felf frustrat of his he-

ritable expectation, and vnderftanding that the Duc Maurice had a gret gruge againft the King for raving fraudfully the thre forſaid townis from the empyre, he delt with Maurice ſecretly, allowing all that he had done ; and that way being reconcyled, baith together cam, in vain, and layed the ſiege to the town of Metz, quhilk the K. of France brukis with the reft vnto this day. Wherby may be obſeruit how dangerous it is in ciuil diſcention to bring in gret companies of ftrangers for to ſupport any of the parties.

This mekle anent the affaires of Dutcheland may appeir to be on-partinent for me to wret, becauſe I was bot yong for the tym, and not preſent in the French armye, for the biſhop of Vallence remanit behind at Paris. Bot efterwart when I was in Germany, I was mair particularly infourmed of the haill be the gud Prince Electour Palatin then I beleue any other knew that hes wreten therof.

During the tym that the ſaid biſhop abaid at Paris, not willing to tyn tym, was deſyrous to haue ſome entre in the art of matematicque ; and for that effect fand out a gret ſcollair in dyuers hich ſcyences callit Cavatius, and another callit Mons<sup>r</sup>. Taggot. This Cavatius tok occaſion in oft conference to tell him of tua familier ſpritis that wer in Paris, awating vpon ane auld ſchepherd wha in his youth had ſeruit a preſt, wha at his death left them to him. Wherupon the biſhop tok purpoſe, at the Kingis retournyng from his voyage of Al-maigne, to bring onto the K. the ſaid Cavatius, wha offerit to loiſe his head incaice he ſchew not the tua ſpritis to his Maieſte or till any that he wald ſend, to com in the fourm of men doggis or catis. Bot the K. cauſed burn the ſchepherd, and imprifonit the ſaid Cavatius, and wald not fee the ſaidis ſpritis.



The other learnit man callit Taggot had bene also curious in findre of the faid scyences, and had learnit be the art of palmeſterie, as he ſaid to me him ſelf, that he wald die before he atteanit vnto the age of 28. yeares. “ Wherefore” ſaid he “ I knaw the trew religion to be exercyſed at Geneua ; ther will I go and end in Godis ſeruice.” Sa he did, and died ther at Laufan as he had conſcauit the oppinion, as I gat word afterwart.

- P. 9. At this tym the biſchop of Vallence being at court in S<sup>t</sup> Germanis, he purpoſed to preſent me vnto the Quen. In the mean tym capten Ringan Cocburn, then ane of the Scotis gard, had obtenit leaue to paſſ in Scotland and was newly returnit. This capten was a buſy medler, and had ſometymes refuge and frequentation amang my frendis, and aſkit gene I culd ſpeak gud Frenche, quhilk I denyed. Alwayes he ſaid that he had a matter of importance to ſchaw vnto the Conſtable, wha then had the haill reull of France vnder the King, and requested me to be his interpretair, for he wanted French him ſelf ; bot he wald not declair the purpoſ bot in the Conſtables preſens. We attendit at the yſſue of his denner, when he was to geue audience to dyuers ambafſadours. He commandit us to await at his chamber dur about twa efternun, quhilk hour he failed not to keip. Efter he had hard the ambafſadours and maid report vnto the K. of ther demandis, advyſing him what till anſwer, now we twa wer brocht into his quyet cabinet, wher he was allane with a ſecretary callit Baſk. Then the capten began to declair how that, in his lait being in Scotland, biſchop Jhon Hamiltoun, haill gyder of the Gouvernour his brother, had bene ſa extream ſeak that his ſpeache was tint, with all hope of lyf or recouery. Wherupon the Quen dougier of Scotland practyſed ſa with the Gouver-

nour that he gaue ouer the gouvernement to hir and maid hir Quen Regent ;—willing me to schaw the fame vnto the Constable. Bot I requyred to knaw farther. Then he procedit to tell how that, when the bischop of S<sup>t</sup> Androwes had recouert his speach and health, be the help of Cardanus ane Ytalien magicien, he cursed and cryed out that the Gouvernour was bot a very beaſt for geuen ouer of the gouvernement, feing that ther was bot a ſkitteren laſſe betuen him and the crown. Bot I grew red when the capten putted vpon me to tell this taill to the Constable, wha culd perſaue how laith I was to rehearſe it. At lenth when my ſaid Lord preffit me, I ſaid I thoct it not worthy that his L. ſuld loife any gret tym therwith ; and ſa thoct he him ſelf, for he hard it not out, bot aſkit my name, and cauſit his ſecretary to wret it vp ; and gene I was a kyn to the capten, wha anſuerit in ill Frenche that I was his fiſter ſone. The Constable ſperit at me gif it was ſa ; bot I denyed that I was fib to him. Then he wald wit whom with I was. I ſchew him how that the biſchop of Vallence had commiſſion from the Quen Regent of Scotland to place me paige with hir dochter. Then he inquyred gif I wald tary with him in caice he mycht obtean the ſaid biſchops conſent. I ſaid I beleuit that he durſt not, in reſpect of his promyſe to the Quen Regent. He ſaid again that he had moyen to preſent me to the Quen when euer I pleaſit, bot gif I wald tary with him he ſuld aduance me and do me gud. Then I granted, gif he ottenit the biſchops gud will, to ſerue him. That ſame day he forgot not till defyre me at the biſchop, wha lent me his gud word, and tald me efterwart that the ſaid Constable was the beſt maſter in France and mycht do me maiſt gud. Sa I entred in ſeruice with the ſaid Constable in the year of God 1553 in the moneth of May.

I grant that thir litle triffel is ar not worthy to be put in wret, wer not to testify of Godis gracious gudnes to the posterite of his faithfull ; as Dauld rehearfes in the psalme, " I haue bene yong and am waxing auld, and yet I never saw the just abandonit nor ther childrene," &c. For it was God that moued the Quen Regentis hart to tak tua of my brether in hir seruice, and to send me in France to be plaicit with hir dochter our Quen ; wha also moued the bischop to desyre me to tary with him ; and the same God moued the Constables hart to desyre me.

P. 10. In this year 1553 in the moneth of May, the Constable of France conuenit a gret armye, and being the Kingis lieutenant led them first to Amyance in Picardie. For when the K. of France was in Dutche-land with his army, to help as he wald appeir the princes of thempyre, Frau Mary Quen of Hungarie then a widow, sifter to the said Emperour and Regent of Flanders, enterit with ane armye in Picardie and brunt the Kingis palice of Foulambrey, with findre vther litle townis and vilages, thinking to cause the K. com back to debait his auen boundis. Sa that the wair entrit heit betuen them ; and the K. in his back commyng beseiged and wan Yvoy, Monmedy and Danvilliers, with Boullon and some vther strang castelles.

Therefore theemperour in the spring tym of the said year 1553, entrit in persone with a gret armye in Picardie, and wan Tirrouan and Hedin, and brunt dyuers litle bovirgis and vilages ; quhilk caused the Constable to pais with his army as said is to resist him. The twa armyes being bot feuen leagues findre, the Constable was aduertist be ane double spy, that all theemperours horsmen wer to com in the nycht and assaile the Frenche camp. Therefore he till eschew that surpryse marched all nycht fordward towardis the enemy, with haill forces on horse and

fut ; wherby he furpryfed them that thocht to haue found him in his bed, and gaue them the ouerthraw, wher many wer flane and fome tane. Amang the reft the Duc of Afcot leader of that enterpryfe was tane prifoner. Efter this victory, the K. Henry 2. cam to the camp him felf. Then themperour reterit towardis the town of Valencien in Heinot, the Kingis campe folowing alwayes vpon his wyng, making dyuers dayes journey before they cam to the faid Valencien ; wher themperour fet down his camp without the town upon ane hiecht, and maid trenfchees and deip fouffies round about the fame. Wher the K. prefented him bataille, and taried ane haill day in vain to fe gif he mycht be provoked to com fourth ; and to that effect fend a number of infantis perdues to his trenfchees to bring on the fkirmyfch, wher themperour fend out fome companyes of horfmen, that wer fchone dung bak within ther fort. In the mean tym themperour caufed fchut aff his haill volce of arteillerie at our campt, with litle fkaith. We wer weill enough aduertift that themperour was determinit not to hazard battaill, for he tok oppinion that fortoun fauorit na mair his auld age. Therefore when nycht drew neir, the K. reterit to St Quentin, wher the Conftable fell deadly feak, of the age of lxij yeares. Then baith the armyes wer fend to ther winter garniffons ; themperour to Bruxelis, the King to Paris, and the Conftable to his palice of Chantillye to recouer his health.

During the winter ther wes a gret convention betuen Calis and Arders, wher the Cardinall Pole Englefeh man was appointed mediatour be the Paip to agre thir twa gret princes, bot without any gud effect.

Therefore the K. pafit firft to the feildis the nyxt fpring with his army, (to wit the year 1554) as themperour had done the year before ;

at quhilk tym I was maid his penfioner be the Conftables moyen. His Maieſte befiegit and wan firſt Marianbourgh a trim town, and a gret ſtrength apperteyning till Frau Mary callit Marymont. He tok alſo hir palice of Baings and brint it, in ſtede of Foulambrye quhilk ſche had brunt of before. He tok alſo Bovin, and at lenth Dynan ; bot the caſtell of Dynan fitued vpon ane heich rok was ſtoutly debaited be capten Julien a Spanyart ; wha at lenth comyng fourth to ſpeak with the Conſtable of compoſition, wes retenit, and the men of warre cam fourth with bag and baggage.

P. 11. Few or nane of ſouldiours that cam fourth of Dynan bot they wer hurt other with ſkelves of ſtanes be the force of our battery, or wer brunt with the fyre brandis that they did row down the ſtey bra wher-upon the wall, was biggen ; and thryſe they repoulſed our French futmen, wherof ther wer eleuen baner bearers that paſt vp to the head of the breſche ; to wit, firſt ane with the henſenge in his hand, not folowed with his company, was ſhot and fell tombling down the bra ; then another ſouldiour, to won the office, tok the enſaigne and paſt vp lykwaſ to the head of the wall, was alſo ſhot ; then the thrid, and all the eleven ilk ane efter other, wan ther deid and wer in nawayes affiſted with their companies, notwithstanding that the Conſtable my maiſter ſtod beſyd crying and boiſting in vain ; and therefore he degradit the captanis and brak ther companies. Ther was a Scottis man brother to Barnbougall, callit Arche Moubrey, wha with his drawen ſwerd ran vp to the wall head and retournit ſaif ; bot he gat na reward albeit I was a ſuter for him, for many ar redier till puniſch faultes then to reward weill doers.

Efter this the K. entrit far in the Law Contrees, burnyng and ca-

rieing away gret butins ; bot fa schone as themperour culd convene any forces together, our armye began to reteir hamewart ; wher themperour send fyve thousand horsmen to se gif they mycht persuaue any occasion of aduantage, quhilk they effeied to bring till pass, assailgeing our arreregard at the passing ouer of a litle watter. At quhilk tym the Constable taried behind him self, and turnyng his faice towarde them, and withstod ther charge stoutly with the Frenche futmen and some leicht horsmen, vntill the haill armye wer past ouer the said watter not far fra Cambray. Sa themperours horsmen folowed na farther at that tym, trowing that the K. wald retourn in France and skaill his armye for that year.

Bot the K. drew langis the frontiers toward a gret strenth callit Renty, wher he planted his camp and beseigite the said strenth, quhilk I hard the constable promyse to delyuer vnto the K. before the end of aucht dayes. Quhilk promyse was not keped, for themperour cam in persone with his armye for the releif therof ; quhilk armye the constable raid out to meet with the haill French horsmen, leaving the futmen to ly still at the seige. For he had gret intelligence, and had hard wher themperour wald camp, marching langis a gret heicht that had a stey foirfaice towardis the part wher our camp lay ; bot it was easy to ryd vp and down at the syde wher our horsmen raid, wher themperour send down some harguletis on horsbak to skirmysh. At quhilk tym Normond Lesly maister of Rothes wan gret reputation. For with a thretty Scotis men he raid vp the bray vpon a faire grey gelding ; he had aboue his corfellet of blak veluet, his cot of armour with tua braid whyt croiffes, the ane before and thother behind, with fleues of mailge and a red knap-pisk bonet vpon his head, wherby he was kend and seane a far aff be

the Constable, Duc of Angien and Prince of Conde. Wher with his thretty, he chargit vpon threcore of ther horfmen with culuerins, not folowed with feuen of his nomber ; wha in our ficht straik v of them fra ther horfe with his speir, before it brak ; then he drew his fwerd and ran in amang them, not caring ther continuell schutting, to the admiration of the beholders. He flew dyuers of them ; at lenth when he saw a company of speirmen commyng doun against him, he gaif his horfe the spurris, wha caried him to the Constable and fell doun dead,

P. 12. for he had many schotis ; and worthy Normond was also schot in dyuers partis, wherof he died xv dayes efter. He was first caried to the Kingis awen tent, wher the Duc of Angyen and Prince of Conde tald his Maiestie that Hector of Troy was not mair vailgeant then the said Normond ; whom the K. wald se dreflit with his awen ferurgiens, and maid gret mean for him ; sa did the Constable and all the rest of the princes. Bot na man maid mair dull nor the lard of Grange, wha cam to the camp the nyxt day efter, fra a quyet raid wher he had bene directed.

Now themperour fet doun his camp tua myles from Renty, and in ane instant trenched the haill camp round about, saif only the foirface of the stey bra that loked towardis our camp, quhilk was starker then the rest. All that nycht ther wer many vpon the watche of baith the armyes, for euery man loked for a battaill the day folowing. And therefore themperour, lyk ane auld capten, seafed in the nycht a wood that lay vpon a bra fyd between the tua camps, quhilk wes baith a gret aduantage, and then compellit the maist part of our armye till stand in armes all nycht, to be the mair onable for wanting of sleep and rest again the morn ; and then the plaice of the battaill was a plain valley that lay

vnder the faid wood. The nyxt mornynge early, efter that euery man had maid ther prayers and tane a litle meat, we plaicit our armye in gud ordour of battaill vnder the faid bra and wood. The K. him felf that day commandit the bataille, bot he defyred the Conftable to byd with him, for to tak confaill as occafion wald fall out. The Duc of Guife led the vangarde, and Marchall of St Andre the arriergard. Firft fa many of our Frenche futmen as ar callit *enfants perdus* wer led langis the bra and wod ege, beginning to *fkermifche* with the Spaniartis that wer within the wod; wha had fa gret aduantage being couerit with buffis and trees, that they compellit our futmen to reteir fearfully; quhilk euell fauorit beginnyng themperour mycht weall fee from the hill wheron he was encamped. Therefore lyk a *fkilfull* capten he tok the occafion to hazard ane gud part of his *avantgard*, with a 7. feild pieces, wha be his direction cam fercely forduart; the Spaniartis with ther *hacbutis* throw the wod, a thowfand *Landfknychtis* with bricht *corfelletis* langis the bray fyd with lang pickis, the Conte of Swertzenbourg with all his reiters at the bra fut, and the haill leicht horfmen of themperours army vpon his rycht hand. At quhilk tym our futmen that wer apponted till *fkirmifch* with the Spaniartis reteirit ay mair and mair, as alfo our leicht horfmen in the valley drew a fyd, and gaue ouer gret place to themperours van gard; quhilk when it cam wher Mons<sup>r</sup> de Tavanés and Mons<sup>r</sup> de Lorge ftode with ther companyes, and faw them mak for deffence, they marched mair caldly. The Duc of Guife in the mean tym faid that he wald ryd bak to the bataille, and obtean the Kingis command before he wald charge vpon the ennemy. Bot Mons<sup>r</sup> de Lorge wha was ane auld capten, allegit that ther was na tym to *fpair* confaill; “for the ennemy,” faid he, “wilbe



**affchone** at the King as ye." Therefore it was resolved to charge **courageously** vpon the ennemy; quhilk being done and a litle **renconter** maid, the reifters fchot aff all ther piftolles, and finding themfelues not **backit** nor folowed with the reft of themperours army, (as they **allegit** was promyfed vnto them) they gaue bakis and fled; being perfewed

P. 13. be our horfmen, wha flew about a v<sup>c</sup> Dutche futmen, and a few Spaniartis, for the wod was ther releaf; bot nane of the horfmen, they all efchaiped within the rampartis of themperours camp. Ther feild pieces wer tane and many Spaniartis maid prifoners. Therefore we callit it a won battaill, and marched fordwart, poffeffing the grond wher the feicht was, and fet down our camp that fame nycht hard befyd themperours; wha feamed not that he had loift any thing, bot remanit ftedfaftly within his trenfchees. All that nycht the maift part of the armyes wer vpon the watche, and the nyxt day the tua armyes loked paiceably vpon other; for we wald not hazard to charge them within ther fort, and they ftayed vpon tuelff thowfand frefche men that wer commyng to ther ayd. Bot in the euenyng they fchot aff their haill volee of canons, quhilk flappit part of our tentis; and we again fchot our haill volee at them, and wald lauch to fe the bouletis leicht and ftot amang them. Jet that fame nycht quyetly at midnycht, without trompet or tabouring, we raifed our haill armye and reterit us hame till our awen town of Montreull, and left Renty on won; alleging that we had won **ane** battaill, quhilk was better, and that we wanted horfmeat in the **begynnyng** of winter. Bot themperour fuffred us patently to pafs our way, not feamyng that he knew any thing of our retreit, bot was content that he had faiffed Renty on tane.

Leftir this themperour being agit, and finding himfelf vexit with the

gut and grauell, thocht meit to leaue the warld, and reteir himself in a monasterie of monkis in Spane. Bot first he maid moyen with the princes of thempyre for to elect his sone Phillip to be Emperour, quhilk they refused altogether, thinking him ouer mychty wherby to subdew ther liberties, as his father had minted to do of before Bot they wer content to cheise his brother Ferdinand, wha was King of Bohem and Archeduc of Auftria, quhilk dominions lay nereft vnto the Turc. The said Ferdinand having also some landis in Hungarie, wald be compellit to deffend his awin landis, and that way wald be content of lefs contribution from the estaitis of thempyre, nor any other prince that lay farther aff. Sa Charles the V. left thempyre, and gaue ouer to his sone Phillip his other kingdomes and dominions that he had in Spain, Ytaly, and the Law Contrees. And for the establisshing of his said sonnes estait, he drew on a traity of trewes for the space of v. yeares, quhilk was agreed and sworn between the parties. Bot the said trewes wer schone broken, at the persuation of Paip Caraphe; wha intending to bring back again vnto the kirk some kirklandis that his predeceffours had disponit to ther frendis, as the commoun custom of paipes is; this paip dispones to his bastard bairnes or neueus,—the nyxt paip reuokis the landis as for the weill of the kirk, and geues to his kin and frendis.

P. 14. Bot they that had thir landis that Paip Caraphe clamed, wer a gret clan in Italy callit Collonois; wha wer dependers vpon the K. of Spain, and wer vnder his protection, and wald not grant to geue ouer any of ther possessions vnto the Paip, neyther for his curfing, boisting nor braging, standing to ther defence. Wherof the Paip impatient, pouffit be twa of his neveux, sent the ane of them into France callit the Cardi-

nall Caraph. The said legat had born before him a hat vpon the point of a fwerd, baith hat and fwerd to be presented vnto the K. of France; the fwerd as ane assured warrant of victory, and the hat a taken of tryumphe; Injuning the K. tres Christien, as eldest sone to the Cathotholik Kirk of Rome, to send ane armye in Italy, to help the Paipes holines to recouer again to the kirk sic landis as wer wrangeously withhelden fra the same be the said raice of the Collonois. And for to tak away all kind of scrupulofite from the Kingis conscience, be raifon of his aith and eaten sacrement at the clofing vp of the trewes with the K. of Spane, he the said Cardinall as Legat from Godis vicair had power and wald geue him full abfolution, alleging the Paipes power to bind and loufe; and mairouer that in doing fa deutifull ane gud office for the kirk, the K. fuld fe and get ane gret commodite and aduantage to himself, as to be posselt again in the kingdome of Naples be the forces of the Paip; wha fuld jun with the Kingis armye, efter he had helped the kirk to recouer hir foresaid landis fra them that wer meanteanit be his compeditour the King of Spain. The Duc of Guife and Cardinall of Lorrain his brother embrascit this proposition very earnestly, for the Duc pretended to be maid vice roy of Napoles, wherby he myght the easelier mak his brother some day paip. Bot the auld Constable my maister was vtterly againft the breking of the paice or trewes; bot the twa ambitious brether prevailed, persuading the K. that as the Constables age requyred rest, the K. being in the flour of his yeares fuld not let slip fo faire ane occasion to recouer again the kingdome of Naples to the crown of France. Sa ane faire armye was preparit and sent into Italy vnder the condit of the Duc of Guife; and lykwais the kingis lieutenant in Picardie entrit in vpon the K. of Spains dominions

with fyre and fwerd ; fa vnloked for be them of the Law Contrees that some of the Frenche leicht horfmen entrit vpon horfbak within ane of ther kirkis vpon ane Sondag, and reft the chalice out of the preftis handis when he was mumlen his mefs.

The King of Spain tok this breaking of the paice hevely till hart ; and baith affifted the Collonnois againft the Paipes forces mair ernestly then he wald haue done, and alfo prepared a gret army againft the nyxt fpring to invaid the frontiers of Picardie in France.

In the mean tym that the Duc of Guife with his Frenche armye was in Italy, the Paipe tok occafion haiftely till compon with the Collonnois ; wha finding themfelues lyk to be ftraited before the K. of Spaines forces mycht be redy to fupport them, gaif the Paipe part of his defyres, he making them fure of the reft.

- P. 15. Bott the Duc of Guife thocht him felf gretly difgracit be the Paipes gyll, and far difaponted fra his pretence to the kingdome of Neaples, when he vnderftode that the Paipe was agreed by him ; and in fted to concure and help him to conquyre the kingdome of Neaples according to his promyfe, he planly refused, and faid that the winter was at hand, and that it wald be mair feamly that all Chriftien Princes fuld agre amang them felues to mak warre againft the gret Turc. Sa he gaif the Duc of Guife leaue to kifs his fut, wha did it ; wherat the King of France was very angry baith at him and at the Paip. Then for the fpace of tua moneth, euery man in the court of France had leaue to fpeak euell of the Paip ; wha agreed at that instant with the K. of Spain, be the mediation of the fame Cardinall Caraphe that brocht the fwerd and hat a litle of before to the K. of France Quhilk Cardinall was efterwart strangled be the nyxt Paip Pius 4. for practifing

to bring the gret Turke in Ytaly against the Christiens, quhilk he confessit at his dead to haue done for his awen gretnes. This I vnderstod efterwart, being at Rome.

Now to retourn to the Duc of Guise armye abandonit be the Paip ; they returnit in France with the los of the maist part dead for hunger be seaknes, and slain be the Spaniardis, wha waited on their heles all the way.

Before the Duc of Guise hame comyng in France, the K. of Spain was entrit vpon the frontiers of France with a gret armye of l. thousand men ; whom to resist, the Constable my maister was send with a xvj thousand. The day before he tok his leaue at the K. in Reins in Champaigne, ryding to the huntis, ther cam a man in graue apparell folowing him vpon fut, crying for audience for Godis saik. Wherupon the Constable staid, willing him to speak ; wha said, " The Lord sais seing that thou will not know me, I fall lykwayes not know the. Already I see the reack of thy glory spred athort the luft in dust." This strange langage pat the Constable in sic a collair that he straik the pure man in the faice with his horse wand, and boisted to cause him be hangit. The man anfuerit that he was redy to suffer what punisshment he pleist, seing he had parfourmed his commissioun. The Duc of Nevers persaving the Constable commoued, drew neir and desyred to know the cause. The Constable schew him how that sic a knaiff had bene prechen to him of God. Then the said Duc boisted also the pure man ; bot as they raid forduart efter the K. I taried behind and askit the man what had moued him to use sic strange langage vnto the Constable. He said, the sprit of God sufferit him not to rest vntill he had dischargit his mynd of sic a commissioun.

the men of armes, lest they fuld be some impediment to them that facht. Thir varletis, being large asmany as ther wer maisters, wer glaid to get them out of the preßs, spurring with speid ther horße headis hamewartis, intending to stay vpon some know to behald the combat. The ennemy perßaving a far aff a gret number of horßemen as fleing, tok occasion to charge vpon our leicht horßmen ; wheron the Conßtable, being in a valley betwen twa heichtis, marching towards the strait part wher he intendit to stay, spurrit fordwart vp the litle bra, that he mycht se how to refist and put ordour to the battaill, quhilk gaif ane hard apprehension till others that it was a fleing ; bot when he turnit on the know head to behald the onfet, na man wald tary with him, for na command, nor crying, “ tary tary, return return ;”—ther headis wer hamewartis, and ther hartis wer hyn. Then his maister staibler brocht him ane Turkey spedy horße, to run away with the rest. He anfuerit in anger that it was against his profeßion and occupation to flee ;—addressing him self fiercely against the gretest troupe of ennemys, saying, “ let all gud seruantis to the King folow me ;” only he was acompanyed with a threscore of gentlemen, wha wer all ouerthrauen in ane instant. The Conßtable desyrit to be slain, bot his maister staibler callit Mons<sup>r</sup> de Salvert cryed continually, “ It is the Conßtable, slei him not ;” bot he was schot throw the thye before he was knauen, and was tane prifoner. I being euell hurt with a straik of a mafs vpon the head, was monted again be my seruand vpon a Scotis gelding, that caried me hame throw the ennemys, wha wer all betwen me and hame ; and twa of them straik at my head with fuerdis, because my head piece was tane aff efter the first rencontre that the mafs had enfoned, and the twa wer standing betwen us and hame, to kep prifoners in a narrow streit. Bot my skeich horße ran

throw them in a narrow gait, againſt my will, throw the villaige; for the feild betwen it and the wood was full of reak of culveringis, and ther wer the maiſt part of our futmen ſlain. The lowping ouer a dyk ſeparat me fra the twa; then being paſt the ſaid villaige, ther was boundis anough till eſchew; ſa I cam ſaif to La Ferre, wher I met with maifter Hary Killygrew, an Engliſ gentilman my auld frend, wha held my horſe till I ſat down in ane barbours buith, to be penſit of the hurt in my head. In the mean tyme ane proclamation was maid, that na man ſuld remain within the town bot the ordinary garriffoun, becauſe the gouernour therof loked for a ſiege.

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*ten leaues folowing, being first wreten, apperteins not to  
this history :—meter to be placit at the end of the buk, be-  
cause heirby may be sean how other yong princes haue bene  
als euell handled as ours.*

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P. 17. **G**UD obedience is the office of subiectis ; for they fuld esteame the estait of a maiestrat as a commiffion com down from God, and therefore fuld bear them reuerence as to the lyknes of the euerlafting, representing onto ther eyn the deuyn empyre. Euery faull, fais S<sup>t</sup> Paull, fuld submit them vnto the fupperiour powers ; for wha refiftis vnto ther authorite, refiftis againft the ordinance of God. Bot how this is obseruit may be ouer oft fean, cheffy during the regne of yong princes.

Polibius wretis of thre yong princes that wer onworthely mishandled, be them that wer left to be ther cheif gouernours and confellers ; as Philip King of Macedone, Antiochus King of Siria, and Ptholomeus K. of Egipt ; quhilk hard handling of the faid yong princes I haue tranflated and tane out of the historie of Polibius, becaufe the lyk hes chancit laity in thir partis.

Vnto the yong K. Phillipe of Macedone wes left Appelles for cheif gouernour, Megaleas to be chanceler, Leontius fcheild bearer, and Alexander to be capten of the garde, and Taurion to be lieutenant in Peloponefe. Appelles, in fted to do the office of ane honest man, vied all the pernitiuous practyfes that he culd inuent, till hender the yong princes prosperous proceedingis, and till hald him in continuell comber, intending till aduance him felf. For at all fic tymes when ther wes any faire occafion, or ony gud confell geuen vnto the King, wherby he

mycht augment his dominions, and wone honour frendſchip or reputation, the ſaid Appelles not only gaue contrary confell, bot had maid the maiſt part of the confeill till his effect. Only Aratus, a worthy capten ouer the Achayens, withſtod him ; wha loued the King enterely, and gaue wyſe confell, and ſometymes diſcouerit the falſe practyſes of the confederat confellours, albeit to his awen gret hendrance and parell ; for he wes deadly hated and enuyed therfore. Appelles had alredy wone vpon his faction Leontius and Megaleas, and had layed platis how till get Taurion and Alexander out of ther offices ; inventing lyes and falſe reportis againſt them, bot maiſt of all againſt Aratus ; quhilk was at lenth perſauit and cam to the Kingis knowlege, cauſing him to lyk the better of Aratus, and conceaue a ſecret hattrent againſt the other ; quhilk the K. durſt not yet kyeth, in reſpect of Appelles gret authorite, bot awaited vpon tym mair opportun.

- P. 18. Now Appelles, finding he cam litle ſped be callomnies and lyes, he tok another courſe, and began to ſpeak mekle gud of Taurion, lieutenant for the King in Peloponeſe ; ſetting out the ſaid Taurion to be ſa gud a capten, and ſa diſcret and wyſe a confellour, that he was meter then any other to be neir about the Kingis perſone ; thinking that way to diſplace him, and put another at his deuotion in that gret gouernement. Efter this, occaſion is offered that the King ſuld inuaid his enemys the Etoliens. Appelles folowing fourth his proget, with aſſiſtance of his confederatis, ſpecially Leontius, Megaleas and he, ſweres and promyſes till hald hand till other, in ſtaying be all inderect meanes at ther power, that the Kingis enterpryſe ſhall tak na gud ſucces. Appelles for his part promyſed till paſs before till Chalcedone, wher prouiſion was to be maid for the Kingis armye ; and ſuld handle that turn in fic

fort as that ther fuld be want, quhilk he failed not to do; for when the King cam in thir partis, he was compellit to lay in wed his jowelis, and filuer weschell, to get fourniffing for his awen; wher also the army wes vtterly mistaiked. Megaleas and Leontius wer ordonit to abyd still about the King, till excuse matters, and till interpret all to the best, and continowally to geue hurtfull conseiles. Leontius left nathing on-done for his part; for the King having another enterpryse till tak the toun of Celene, his fouldiours being redy till surpryse the same, and some of them alredy within the toun, wer drawen bak again craftely be Leontius, wha hendrit the wonnyng therof; and lykwais another fair enterpryse, and the haill sommer seasoun, be the wyles and fraud of Leontius; quhilk the King began to persaue, and all the knauery of thir fyn confellours. After this he maid a fodaine enterpryse vpon the toun of Pharma, Leontius casting in many doutis and occasions of drift, till the ennemys mycht be foirwarnit. Bot the K. knowing ther meanyng, past fordwart fodanly, folowing the confell of Aratus, and wan that riche toun; being ay vpon his gardis fra that tym fourth, awaiting vpon ane meit tym till put ordour to sic traitours.

Efter the wynnyng of this toun, and dyuers vthers wherin the King had gud succes, King Philip maid a gret banket till all his nobles and captens; wher the traitours schew them selues sorowfull, because theyr deling was discouert, and wer deuyfen how that efter the banket they mycht slay Aratus. And as they wer about to put ther enterpryse till execution, in ane quyet nyght efter supper when it was dark, some vthers chancit till com by in the mean tym, and saued Aratus. Wher-upon Megaleas wes tane, bot Leontius fled; Crinon wes also tane, ane of ther associatis. Bot Leontius the nyxt day brocht with him all the

ſcheild bearers, whom he commandit as capten, and boiſtingly asked  
 wha durſt reſtean or lay handis vpon Megaleas and his marrowes.  
 P. 19. Quhilk rebellion the King curagiouſly repreſt, preſenting him ſelf vnto  
 them, and ſchewing vnto them that it was done be his commandement.  
 Sa Megaleas wes accused be Aratus and convict; yet wes efterwart  
 ſet to libertie for a ſowm of filuer, bot culd not leaw aff fra his formair  
 practyſes. For again when the King wes at the ſeage of a rich toun,  
 ſome potentatis and nybours delt for paice; quhilk being lyk to tak effect,  
 Megaleas, Leontius and another callit Ptolomeus, cauſed the ſcheild  
 bearers and dyuers bandis of the men of wair to rebell, and come in  
 armes to the Kingis loging; brak vp the durres, and raif the ſclaitis af  
 the ruf of the houſe; compelling the K. till eſchaip and ſaif him ſelf in  
 the nyxt town, till the blud fell fra the rebelis hartis. Then the K.  
 ſend for the principalis of them; ſome he puniſt, ſome he boiſted, and  
 admoniſſit others, knawing weall anough wha wer the ſterers vp ther-  
 of, bot held him quyete vntill he wes in ſurete within the toun of Cor-  
 rinth. At quhilk time Megaleas, Leontius, Ptolomeus and ther adhe-  
 rentis perſaued that ther malice wes maniſteſtit, and them ſelues in parell,  
 they ſent for ther chiftain Appelles till com till court and help them.  
 Appelles in the mean tym remanit at hame, rewling the kingdome of  
 Macedone and Theſſalia, cauſing all differencis, preſentis, and embaffa-  
 dours com before him; taking vpon him entierly the Kingis office, and  
 maid bot a chiffer of the yong King. Sa ſchone as Appelles cam neir  
 the court, all the courteours raid out and met him, and convoyed him  
 vnto the Kingis chamber dur. Bot when he preſt till enter famylier-  
 ly as he wes wont, a paige cam fourth and bad him ſtand bak, ſaying  
 that the King wes empeſchit. Wherat he was not a litle miſcontent,

cheifly when he saw euery man leaue him and steall fra him, as the fassion is in court commonly, when they se the prince lok down vpon any man. Megaleas persauyng Appelles disgraift, and not able till bear out his course, fled to the town of Athens, wher he gat na entre, fearing till offend the King; wha caused incontinent apprehend Leontius capten of the scheild bearers, efter that his souldiours wer sent away another errand. Bot when they hard that ther capten wes in handis, they send boifting langage vnto the K., quhilk moued the K. the haiftelier till cause execut Leontius. Then dyuers tok baldnes till advertis the K. of findry treasons committed against him, and sent vnto him some wretengis that Megaleas had writen vnto the Kingis ennemys against the King. Bot the K. sent to Thebes and tok him, wha slew him self be the way. Lykwais Appelles, hering that the K. had sent to tak him at Corrinth, whervnto he wes fled, he slew him self; and sa did his concubine and his sone. Some others ther dependers the K. tok and punissed, and sa endit tragically that company of traitours.

**P. 20.** This K. Philyp efter that he was red of thir concurring knaues, becam a notable prince, be dear bocht experience, and did many worthy deidis. Sa, as Sal fais, put away the wickit and peruers perfonas from the faice of the King, and his thron fall be establiffit in iustice.

To schaw the tragicall end also of ane ambitious crafty King tak Cleomenes King of Spart for exemple. For Cleomenes, desyrous bring till pass many hyche pretencis and far fetchis, intendit first till enter-teny ciuill warres amang the Grecians, that he fisching in dromely watters, mycht with tim mak him self maister of the haill. He junit

first in factioun with the Etoliens against Peleponese, hopping that way haifty victory ouer them baith ; they being subdewed, till assailge Macedone ; it being wone, all Grecia wald fall vnder him. Bot Antigonus King of Macedone, father till this Philipe aboue specified, persawing the mark he schot at, junit him self again with them of Peloponese, and at length ouerthrew him in sundry battailles ; and that the mair easely, because Cleomenes wes haited of his awen subjectis, for falshead, gredines, and ambition, quhilkis ar commonly junit together. Amang vther his faltis, he flew traiterously Archidamus, formair K. of Spart, wha had fled fra the fury of ane vproire, and wes appointed to retourn hame againe to his formair estat. Cleomenes semyng to ryd out and meit him, till geue him the mair honorable convoy, flew him be the way ; bot spaired some that wer in his company, specially Nycagoras, wha had bene his gretest frend in his aduerfite, and had entertained him in his house all the whyll. Cleomenes being thus vincuft, and fled for refuge till Ptholomeus Philopater K. of Egipt ; during his being ther, arriuit Nycogoras with a schip full of fair horse, till Alexandria in Egipt ; chancing to meit Cleomenes on the schoir, wes glaidly saluted be him, supposing that Nycagoras loued him, for faiffing of his lyf when he flew Archidamus ; bot Nycagoras rather haitted him deadly for his treasonable slauchter of his gud frend Archidamus, and wes him self apperantly preseruit to be ane instrument of vengeance for the innocent blud of Archidamus. Now Cleomenes inquiryres at Nycagoras wher he wes boun with the faire horse. He said, to sell them to the King Ptholomeus. Cleomenes thinking he micht speak frely to him whais lyf he had saued, said that hures, harpes, and vain pastymes wes meter for sa doild and slugisch a King. The other gaif



him na anfuere, bot fmyled, vntill he mycht mak the King foirfean of Cleomenes bacbyting of him, quhilk he did. Wherupon Cleomenes wes maid captywe, yet eschaiped efterwart. And vnderstanding that the K. of Egypt wes mislyked of his subjectis, he did what he culd to steir them vp till rebellion against him, and had wone some, that promysed be wordis ; but when Cleomenes with a few of them invadit the

P. 21. K. vpon the streit, and thocht to haue pullit him down from his chariot, crying "liberte, liberte;" bot feing few or nane sa pert till affist him, and that his foly and fury tok na better effect, he flew him self. And sa endit his vain pretencis, and the slauchter of Archidamus sufficiently auengit.

This Ptholomeus K. of Egypt, efter the death of his father, and slauchter of his brother Magan, thocht that he mycht lyue at hame in lecherie, drinking and ydlenes ; and the rather because that his nybour Antyochus K. of Siria wes yet yong, and not able till enterpryse against him. Therefore he dispyfed his nobilite confellours and captens, skairfely suffring any of them till com in his presens, or till enter in his chamber, making nane bot mean men preuy till his turnes. Also anent the gouernours of concuft contrees that lay far aff, he tok na head of them, bot gaue ear vnto the misreportis maid against dyuers of the saidis gouernours be ther enuyers. Bot Theodotus gouernour of Celoceria, a gret prouince, and wha had done gret seruice, wes maist enuyed ; his honour being hurt, his seruice euell interpret be sic as posselt the prince ear, his lyf wes in gret danger ; sa that the Kingis facilitate and haifty geuyng of credence till fals reportis moued this worthy man till reuolt, and put the haill prouince of Celoceria in the handis of K. Antiochus zet yong. Quhilk wes occasion of gret wairres

afterwart; for K. Ptholomeus at lenth wes compellit, and sa spurrit  
fordwart be many treafons, tincelis and rebellions againft him, that he  
wes fayn till enter in action efter hurtfull experience, for recouery of  
his loft contrees and townis, and to fut the fauour of his nobilitie and  
captens, quhilk he sa difdanit and difpyfed of before.

It is na meruell that this Egiptien K., wha wes ane of Alexanders  
fuccellours, forget him felf sa; hauyng all thir fair contrees conkuft  
vnto him be the faid Alexander, without his labour or indultre; feing  
that the faid K. Alexander him felf becam sa facill and infollent, efter  
that he had conkeft a gret part of the warld. For returnyng hame-  
wart from Midia, he cam till Pafergades, a contre of the Perfians,  
wherof Orfynes wes lord, wha in nobilite and riches exceidit all vther  
men in thir boundis, as ane that brocht his pedegre from Cyrus. The  
riches his predeceffours left him wer gret, and he by a lang continuance  
in his inheritance had gretly increffit the fame. He met Alexander  
commyng to his contree, and presented baith him and his frendis with  
gret giftis of gold, filuer, perles and pretious stones and pretious stuff,  
wefchellis of gold, robbis of purper, four thowfant tallentis of coignit  
filuer, a multitud of faire horfe and chariotis wrocht with gold and  
filuer; bot gaif nathing till Bagras eunuch, whom Alexander fpecially  
faured. And being inquyred of the caufe, he faid his custome was  
till honour the Kingis frendis, and not fic vicious men be whais com-  
pany the K. was dishonnorit; quhilk wordis being reported again vnto

P. 22. Bagras, he conceaved a gret hattrent againft the noble man, and layed  
platis how he mycht get him accused; fubburnyng fome knaves of Or-  
fines awen contre to bear fals witnes againft him, and till await vpon  
fic meit tymes as he fuld appoint them; for he wes a panderous and a

flatterer ; and ſa with continuance of fals tales againſt the gud man, euer diſcembling the cauſe of his hattrent, left the prince ſuld perſaue him and he therby tyn his credit ; therfor he wrocht ſa ſecretly, and at ſic opportun tymes, that he firſt caldit the Kingis hart and affection, and brak his familiarite and acces, that the K. mycht be the eaſelier wone and kendlit in an hattrent and anger againſt this honeſt and innocent man ; that at lenth the K. commandit to ſley him, wha bure a ſingular loue and effectiō to Alexander, and eſtēmed him large as worthy, notable and wailgeant as he was.

Efter the diſceſe of Allexander, his empyre and haill conkyſſes was deuydit amang his captens ; and efter lang ſtryf amang them, ther remanit four principalis kingdommes ; to wit, Caſſander K. of Macedone, Antigonus K. of Aſia myneur, Ptholemeus K. of Egipt, and Seleuchus King of Siria. Efter whais diſces, it fell to his eldeſt ſone, callit alſo Seleuchus, wha ſchortly efter died be diſceat and foull practyſes ; ſa the kingdome of Siria fell to Antiochus his brother, yet very yong, and therfore ſuffred his gret men to choiſe ther awen gouvernementis at ther plesour. Acheus wes maid gouernour ouer all the contrees beyond Mont Taurus, Molon of Media, and his brother Allexander of Perfida ; and Hermeas a malicious man wes maid gouernour of the In contrees. All the other aboue named being litle better, this yong Kingis eſtāt culd not be in ane guid caice, as ſall appeir efterwart. Only Epi- genes cheif capten ouer the haill armye was honeſt and faithfull to his prence, and in gret eſtem, becauſe he was a man of word and deid, of lang experience, and belouit of his ſoldiours. Hermeas again of a contrary natour, crafty ſle and enuyous, ſocht be all poſſible callomnies till

put this worthy capten and confellour out of the way, that he mycht the better bring his difceatfull practyfes till pas, on refifted or perfaued. All the other gouernours of gret contrees had intelligence with him, euery ane intending till vſurp and appropriat to them felues ther hail prouinces wherof they had commandement ; hopping eaſily till brangle ther new gret conkiſſes during the non aige of this yong K., whais kingdome was not yet weill eſtabliſſit. Firſt it was concludit among them, that Molon and his brother ſuld rebell, becauſe they lay fartheſt aff ; quhilk being perfourmed, the King conuenit his conſaill, that he mycht tak the redieſt way till reduce again the faids contrees onder his obedience, till ſuppreſs the rebellion in dew tym. Epigenes being firſt commandit in conſaill to ſpeak, gaif his aduylſe that the K. ſuld ſpedely pas to the partis wher the rebellion was, and ſatill the ſame before it tok rut in the hartis of the people ; wha for ther part had na occaſion of hattrent or miſcontentement againſt the K., bot wald rather in reſpect of his prefens apprehend the traitours, and put them in the Kingis handis to be puniſſed. Hermeas impatient at this gud aduylſe, burſted out in a raige againſt Epigenes, alleging that he aſpyred to get the  
P. 23. kingdome to him ſelf ; and now being tranſported be ambition, diſcouerit him ſelf be this his wicked aduylſe, in conſelling the K. yet ſa yong and tender, nother weill experienced nor prepared till hazard his perfone in ſa far partis, that he mycht bring his treſon the better til pas ; and therefore oponit him ſelf planely therto, willing the K. to remain at hame in the In contrees, and to ſend ſome captens and ane part of the armye till ſuppreſs the rebellion ; and that the K. him ſelf ſuld ga and reſaue the contre of Celoceria not far af, quhilk was alſo offred vnto him be Theodotus gouernour therof vnder the K. of Egipt, wha was mal-

content with his maister for the tym. For Hermeas thocht that it wald raife vp wairres betwen the King of Egipt and him ; that his maister having wairres on all fydis, he mycht not only the better appropriat his gret gouvernement to him and his, bot also eschew punissement for the manyfald offences quhilk he knew him felf that he had committed. Then to be quyt of Epigenes, whom he enuyed and fearit, he conterfitted a wretting, as gif Epigenes had wreten the same to Acheus, wha was then also in fuspition with the K., willing the said Acheus till aduertis and admonifch Ptholemeus to be vpon his gardis, and till bring samony fchippis to ane appointed place, wher Epigenes and Acheus fuld be in a redines till help him at ther power. The yong K., for laik of experience, gaif eafy credit to this hurtfull confell, and fend captens with fome men of wair againft Molon, wha wer be him deffait ; nether cam the K. any fpeid with his armye that he convoyed vnto Celofiria, for the hender that Hermeas maid vnto him be his fals practyfes. The K. feing the euell fucces of baith his enterpryfes, wes not content, and conuenit his confell again till aduyfe of the nyxt beft, and how till proceed againft Molon ; wha efter he had vincuft the Kingis capten Zenotes with his armye, wan Babillon and all the contrees therabout. At this convention, Ipigenes lamented that his first confell wes not folowed, and said get that albeit the rebelis had gottin fa gret aduantage be wynnynge of dyuers battailes towns and contrees, that it was meit the King fuld pafs in perfone againft Molon with gret diligence ; quhilk the haill confell agreed vnto. Nether durft Hermeas fpeak in the contraire, bot feamed that tym and occafion had caufed him chenge his oppinion ; and not only gaif aduyfe till ga fordwart, bot wes maift ernest and diligent till fet fordwart all necessary preparatifs ; and in

the mean tym deuysed how he mycht distroy Epigenes, be craft and indirect meanis. And for this effect, sa schone as the army wes in a redines, he caused secretly steir vp a mutenery amang the men of wair, for want of ther byrun waiges, laying the wyet vpon the generall capten Epigenes; quhilk mutenery pat the K. in gret fear. Whervpon Hermeas tok occasion till speak his pleasour of the other, and tald the K. that ther wald be many of the lyk vproirs, except Epigenes wer left at hame; in respect also of the difference between him and Epigenes, promyting to quenche all stryf, and cause gud reull be obseruit in sa doing. The K., albeit he had Epigenes in gret estym, and knaw his worthynes, and wes laith to want his assistance, yet for fear and of faillite, being importunat and persuadit be some mignons of his chamber, geldit and left him behind.

P. 24. Hermeas hauyng obtenit his intent, caused pay the men of wair largely, to won ther fauour; bot sex thousand of the best souldiours left the K., wanting ther gud capten, and wald not serue vnder the charge of Hermeas; wha in the mean tym, or euer the army past fordward, invented a trik, to wit a conterfait wreting, as gif Epigenes had resciuit it fra Molon; and buddit a peage that seruit Epigenes, to ley the falsse letter in his cabinet amang his other wretingis; then caused send a capten callit Alexis with a company, to seek out the wretingis of Epigenes, and incaice he fand sic a wreting sent fra Molon, to slei him; quhilk wes done, and contented the K. for the first, as gif he had bene justly slain. This falsehead wes persauit be many, bot nane durft yet discover it vnto the K., wha then was destitud of gud and trew counsaill; yet was callit Zeuxides aduysit the prince till pas fordward with diligence, quhilk he did at gret journeyes, be difficill and strait passages.

When the armye cam neir wher Molon wes, his haill armye entrit in gret fear, respecking ther kyndly prence, and wer all willing to run away. Bot Molon stayed them with persuations and faire promyses, mynding till invaid the K. be nycht; fearing to ga oppenly against his K., the soldiours wald abandone him; quhilk dyuers of them did, and aduertit the K. of the tratours intention; wha seing the enterpryse discouert, past oppenly to bataille. The richt wing of his armye facht manfully, bot the left wing turnit and tok part with the King, wha wan the victory; bot Molon fearing just punisshement, flew him self, and sa did all the principall men that had assisted him. Neolauch one of his brether wha fled, past vnto Alexander his other brother, and perswadit him to fley him self also; then he went and pat to death Molons mother and children, syn flew him self.

Efter the ouerthrow of Molon and his complices, the K. tok in again his contrees, vsing gret clemency towardis the seducit subiectis; against the mynd of Hermeas, wha layed greter sones of money vpon sic as suld resaeue that kynd of chastisement then the K. had apponted, and vsed also gret crewelte against vthers; quhilk all the K. mittigat sa schone as it cam to his knowlege; for Hermeas meanyng was till mak the K. hatted. About this tym ther cam newes to the K. fra hame, that ther wes a sone born vnto him, for before he had nane. This moued Hermeas instantly till conspyre the Kingis death, thinking thereafter to remain tutour to the barne, and gouernour to all the contrees during his youth.

The K. had a medeciner callit Apolephanes, that loued him entierly, wha amang many others had persaued Hermeas procedingis, and suspected his mark that he schot at, yet wes in gret fear asweill for him

felf as for the K. ; for Hermeas hated all them that loued the K., or wald geue him any gud aduyce. This Apolephanes waited vpon a convenient tym, and tald vnto the K. the natour, false practyses and hich pretences of Hermeas ; admoniffing him to kepe fecret and be vpon his gardis, left it mycht chance vnto him as it had done vnto his brother  
P. 25. of before, wha wes flain traterously. The K., wha wes alredy in a gret geloufy of Hermeas, and had kepit in his hart a gret misflyking of Hermeas procedingis, tok the aduertiffement of his medeciner in a very gud part, and defyred his help to get Hermeas puniffit ; becaufe his autorite wes fa gret, that nane durft displeife him, nor nane durft put hand till him be way of iustice, as having placit his frendis in all the offices and gouvernementis, commanding baith the court and camp. Therefore the medeciner deuysed that the K. fuld ryfe the nyxt day, earlyer in the mornying then he was wont to do, as till tak the ayre for his health ; whilk was fchawen vnto Hermeas bot very lait ; wha failed not to find him ther, to kepe alwais the Kingis ear fra all others. Bot ther wer appointed alfo fome yong men to be ther, whom the K. had informed of his mynd ; fa being a gud way fra the camp, the K. drew till a quyet part, as thoch he had bene bown to do his aife ; in the mean tym the yong men that wer apponted fticked Hermeas, wha wes fa hated for his behauour, that na mean wes maid for him ; bot contrary wyfe, when the brut of his flaughter wes fpred abroid, the wyues of the toun of Apamea, wher his wyf remanit, tok hir fourth and stanith hir to death ; lykwais the yong boyes of the fame town stanit his cheldren.

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P. 27. **L**AITLY in England, K. Edward the 6. being left yong be K. Hary the 8. his father, was a prence of gret esperance. The Duc of Somerset, his mother brother, fell to be his tutour and protectour ; a man of gret vertew and godlynes, wha caused feak out all meit perfonages of gud qualitees, till place about the said yong K. baith in his chamber, at his table, and for his instruction in lettres, and behauour in maners ; and trauelit till plant gud and trew men afweill to be confellours, as in all other offices and gouvernementis. Bot being perfault be the Duc of Northumberland, wha of a gentilman was fa hyely aduancit, and ane that aspyrit ouer far, all the gud Protectours procedingis wer henderit. For Northumberland being afull and audatious, was mair redouted, as having cuffit and beaten the Archebischop of Canterbury in prefens of K. Hary the 8., quhilk blow wes neuer puniffit, bot rather excused be the K., when as the said Archebischop maid his complante ; the King Hary alleging him to have done it as a man of wair, new com hame fra the warres of Bolloigne. Quhilk caused many till fear the said Duc, wha tok greter baldnes vpon him efter the death of K. Hary, ouer soiftly suffred be the gentill nature of Somerset ; quhilk gaif him the mair baldnes till enterpryse thothers wrak, of deliberation, he being out of the way, till get the haill gyding of the yong K. and contre. Wherby till bring his purpos till pafs at his plesour, first he failed not be practis till place fundre of his frendis in court and consaill, and in offices ; this

being done, to dyuyse the destruction of the Protectour, sterit vp dif-  
 cention betwen him and his only brother the Admyrall, be the meanis  
 of ther wyves, sa schone as he persauit emulation enter betwen the twa  
 wyues, for honour and preeminence. The Admyrall had married the lait  
 Quene, a widow and last wyf to K. Hary the viij ; wha in his tym had  
 sex wyues, of the quhilkis tua wer repudiat, tua wer behedit, and the  
 mother of K. Edward dyed, when the barne was cuttid out of hir  
 womb, and this the Admyralis wyf lyued efter him ; alleging becaufe  
 sche was quene, that sche suld pass before, and haue the honour abone  
 the Protectours wyff ; wha on the other part allegit hir self to be the  
 wyff to the eldest brother, Duc of Somerset, Protectour and Gouvernour  
 for the tym ouer the K. and contre. This vain stryf was sa helpit and  
 enterlenied, be the moyen of Northumberland, that it engendred first  
 gret hattrent betwen the twa ladyes, and efterwart betwen the twa bre-  
 ther ther husbandis, sterit vp be them. Wherupon occasion was tane  
 till won falsse witnessis till accuse the Admyrall of conspiracy against  
 the Kingis persone, the maist part of the juges or iysers being chosen  
 be the Duc of Northumberland, with easy consent of the Protectour,  
 r. ✖ wha simply respected nathing bot the Kingis weill and surete, and par-  
 tauit not the enuyous pretencis of his hid compeditour. Be thir juges  
 the Admyrall was condemnit to dye. He being out of the way, not lang  
 efter a falsse allarne wes geuen to the court, or ane bruit of ane enter-  
 pryte invented be the Duc of Northumberland, quhilk causit the Pro-  
 tectour hastily till put on his armour, for defence of the K. and him  
 self ; for the quhilk he was delated and accused be sic as wer at the  
 deuotion of Northumberland, and condemnit to dy as a traitour to  
 the K. for putting on his armour in the Kingis palice. The gud

lord said he was content to dye, gif that mycht stand other the K. or contre in sted for any profitable exemple. Now he being out of the way, the Duc of Northumberland triumphed, and reuled all at his plesour, and displacit all them that wer frendis or fauorers till any of the twa brether, oncles to the K., and consequently all that loued the K. ; and planted in ther rowmes his frendis and dependers. Then feing nane till gainsay him, nor that mycht resist or withstand his enterpryse, he maried his yongest sone, callit my L. Gilford, vpon my Lady Jene Gray, dochter gottin be the Duc of Suthfolk vpon K. Hary the viij his yongest sifter, intending to set the crown of England vpon hir heid ; the yong K. being dispatched out of the way, quhilk he thocht not difficill to do, hauyng all the medeciners, and officers of the Kingis mouth at his deuotion ; intending to deffraud Mary our Quene, lawfull heritour of England, discendit of the said Harys eldest sifter. As for the said K. Harys tua dochters, Quen Mary and Quene Elisabeth, he supponit them baith to be bastardis ; and allege our Quen to be borne out of the contre, and that way allegit to be onlawfull, albeit the contrary hes bene oft practysed ; to wit findre born in France and other partis, haue bene brocht hame and bruked the krown of England. The mariage being at a point betwen my Lord Gilford and my Lady Jene Gray, the Duc of Northumberland reuler and gyder of the K. and contre, and daly about the K. ; wha upon a tym, schutting at the buttis, the said Duc flatteringly prayfed the Kingis schot to be weill neir the mark, albeit it wes far asyd. Quhilk flattery the K. culd not abyde ; answering backwardly saying, " My L. gif ye had schot als far fra my twa oncles headis, they had bene yet standen vpon ther schulders." Quhilk word haifted the Kingis dead ; for schortly efter, a lent poisoun

wes geuen vnto him, quhilk tok away his lyf at lenth be degrees. Incontinent efter his death, Northumberland causes proclame his sonnes wyff Quene, and hir husband my L. Gilford his sone K., and him self Gouvernour ouer all the kingdome vnder them. In quhilk estait they lasted not lang ; for as he wes putting ordour ouer all, the Erle of Penbruche, a braue man, callit to a banket dyuers of the nobilite and confaill; and efter the banket, presented onto them a signatour to subscrywe, till tak out Quen Mary wha was kepit, and proclame hir Quene; boisting else to fley them ilk ane, bringing in ther presens a company of men in armour with drawen swerdis, whom he had in a redines in

P. 29. caice of refusall. The nobilite and confaillours ther present granted his proposition, and subscryuit the signatour, and promysed all till affist others. Sa Quene Mary wes tane out and proclamit; quhilk commyng to the knowlege of the Duc of Northumberland, he past to the part wher they wer proclamying the Quene Mary, and he cryed out, " God saue the Quen Mary," with the rest, and did cast vp his bonet, for apperant blyethnes, as did [the] rest; alleging that all the confaill had found gud his proceedingis, and fand it meit to fet vp my Lady Jene Gray, in respect that K. Hary had declaired his twa dochters bastardis; bot he forget that the confaill durft not disobey him. Sa he wes incontinent apprehendit, euen be his auen gard, and convoyed to London. Sa wes the new K. and Quen wardit, and headit. Bot the Duc wes put in hope to get his lyf saif, incaice he wald become ane catholik; for during the tym of K. Edwart, the religion wes reformed in England, and the Roman Kirk reiected. Now this Duc wes sa hatted of all, bot cheifly be his ennemys for his turranny, oppreffion, vsurpation, and the innocent blud scheding of the Kingis twa oncles, and him self, that for

vengeance they not only cryed out vpon his trategy, and kufst ftanes and dirt, and ſchot at him at his entre in Londoun; bot alſo knawen him to be without religion, defyred him to heir ane meſſe ſaid vpon the ſkaffald, in hope to get that way pardone of the Quene; quhilk when he had done, and hard the ſaid meſſe, halding vp his handis with ap- perance of gret deuotion to the ſacrement of the alter, and efterwart culd find na grace, he gaif a gret cry, faying, “ O God what have I done,” and ſa laid done his head, diſparatly ending his lyff.

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P. 30. **K**YNG HARY the 8. of England, father to this K. Edward the 6. abone specified, being miscontent with Pape [Clement 7.] for refusing to grant the deuorcement with his wyf Quen Katherene, of the house of Spane; for reuenge against the said Paip, he loked throw his fingers to the prechours of the reformed religion, then begun secretly in England be some that had studied in Dutcheland vnder Martin Luther. Albeit, the Paip wald fayn haue pleast him, wer not that he fearit to displease themperour Charles the 5. cusing to the said Quen. With tym the hattrent increffit sa betwen the K. and the Paip, that the King proclaimed him self head of the Kirk of England, and dischargit S<sup>t</sup> Peters penys to be payed fra that tym fourth, with a strait commandement till all his subiectis, not till acknowlege the Paip in any fort; and obtenit the said deuorcement of his wyf be ane Englis Archebischop, and married another; wherthrow the Paip, themperour and all thers becam his ennemys. He again defyrus to won frendis, delt with the King of France, the K. of Scotland, the K. of Denmark, and the preincis protestantis in Dutcheland. Bot of all thir, he thocht the frendschip and concurrence of K. James the fyft, his eldest sifter sone, mycht stand hym in gretest steid. For he layed a plat with him self, and wes determinit to vnit this yle in a religion, and in ane empyre, failgeing of aires mailles procreat of his awen body; having then bot a dochter, callit Mary, with the deuorcit Quen; quhilk dochter he declairit to be

ane bastarde ; and fend in Scotland for his ambassadour Lord William Houert, with all thir persuasions and many vther fair offers. Quhilkis the King and haill estaitis thocht very raifonable and acceptable, and promysed a meting ; quhilk the said ambassadour requyred to be at York. Sa the ambassadour retournit weill content vnto his maister, wha wes very glaid, and maid gret preparation to resaeue honorably his sifter sonne. Bot the clargy of Scotland, efter that they had aduysed togither, being sworn cleantis to the Paip, thocht necessary to essey all ther credit, craft, and moyens, how to brek the King from this meting ; and addreffit them selues to sic as wer myngnons for the tyme, and had his Maiesteis ear, to hald hand with some of the kirk that wer also maist famyliers with his Maieste, to get the said meting stayed ; vsing many perswasions, how K. James the first was retenit in England ; of the auld leig with France ; of themperours fead, and the Paipes curfing ; and of the horrible heresie that wes laity rylen vp, and had infected the maist part of England, asweill as the King hym self : and also how that many noblemen and barrons of Scotland wer fauorers of the saidis heresies, quhilk it wes meit the K. shuld preuene in tyme : wherby he mycht also augment his rentis be ther landis, and enriche him self be ther elcheitis, of sa many whais names they gaif vp in a row of paiper : quhilk the K. put in his pouche, and thocht it a meit proposition, and profitable to put in execution.

The Lard of Grange wes new maid tresorer, and in gret fauour with the K., and wes not yet discouert to be a fauorer of the euangell ; bot the K. esteemed him trew, and desyrous till aduance his hynes profit, and very secret ; therefore thocht meit to mak hym preuy to this profitable ouertour, and schaw vnto hym the wreten row, with the noble-



men and barrons names, wha wer geuen vp to be brunt for herefie, and of the gret proffit that mycht be had therby. Wherat the Lard of Grange  
P. 31. began to fmyll, and the King till enquiry wherat he leuch. The tresorer defyred leaue at his Maiefte to tell hym the treuth. With this the King drew out his fwerd, and faid merrely to him, " I fall fley the gif thou fpeak againft my proffit." Then the K. pat vp his fwerd, and commandit hym to fchaw him what raifons he culd allege againft the prelatis propofition. The tresorer began to delait what troubles his Maiefte had been toffit with during his minorite, for the gouernement; firft, betwen the Quen his mother and the lordis; then betwen dyuers factions of lordis; couped fra hand till hand, and keped againft his will as captyue; fometyms befegit, fometyms brocht till battaill againft his will be the Douglaflis, to feicht contrair the Erle of Lenox and his beft freindis, wha was flain, commyng at his defyre to releaue hym; the prelatis being parteners, for ther ambition, fomtyms with a faction, fomtyms with another; and how that they culd nether agre amang them felues, nor let his Maiefte tak reft, vntill the Duc of Albany was chofen Gouernour and brocht out of France. Wha had enough ado alfo; for he wald haue fayn done plefour to France, and raifit a gret army of Scotifmen till enter in England, wha wer making waires in France for the tym. Bot he gat a rebut when he was at the borders of England; for they wald marche na farther, alleging that the K. wes yet yong, and the K. of Englandis fifter fone; and how that K. James the fourt his father, without purpos, paff with his army at the plefour of France againft his awen gud brother the K. of England, wher he loft his lyf at the feild of Floudoun, and parellit his haill contre; fa this gud Duc was fayn to retier him

till France. " And efterwart your Maieſte tok the gouvernement in your awen handis, at the age of 13. yeares ; git they clapped again about yow, and kept yow twa yeares as captyue. And now ye ar bot laityly com to your liberte, and your contre is not yet ſa weill ſattelit as miſter wer ; albeit your Maieſte hes done very mekle in ſa ſchort ſpace, as till ſattle the hylandis, ylls and borders. It wer dangerous that your nobilite ſuld get intelligence, that ſic gredy fetches ſuld be put in your head, vnder pretext of hereſie, to ſpoilge ſa many of them of ther lyues and landis and geir ; wherin ye may parell your awen eſtate, at the inſtance of them whais eſtate are in parell, and wald hazard you and yours to ſaif ther awen. The prelatis, I mean, fearis that your Maieſte, at the example of the K. of England, of Denmark, and prencis of thempyre, mak the lyk reformation among them ; therfore they haue

P. 32. na will of your familierite with the K. of England, nor that your eſtate ſuld be ſa ſattelit, that ye mycht put ordour to the abuſſis of the kirk. Doted not ane of your predeceſſours, callit S<sup>t</sup> David, the maiſt part of the patrimony of the crown to the kirk, erecking the ſame in biſhoprickis and rich abeſſies ? wherby your Maieſte is preſently ſa pure, and the prelatis ſa riche, ſa prodigall, and ſa proud, that they will ſuffer nathing to be done by them ; and ar alſo ſa ſworn to the Paip of Rome, when they get their benefices confirmed, that they aucht not to be credited in any thing that may tueche the Paipes proffit or preferment. As the Venitiens, being the wyfeſt commoun weill, will not ſuffer any prelat, albeit he be a born man of the town, to abyde or ſtand in ther conſaill houſe, when they ar at ther conſaill ; becauſe they know them to be ſa ſtraitly ſworn to the Paip." Then he declairit ſome of the groſſeſt abuſſis of the Romain kirk, and the vngodly lyues of the

Scotis prelatis, quhilk the King and haill contre nicht se. "Therfor," said he, "gene your Maieſte wald do weill and be riche, ye may juſtly tak hame again to the proffit of the crown, all vacand benifices, be litle and litle, as they may fall be diſceſs of euery prelat." Anent his Maieſteis promys maid to the ambaffador of England, ther mycht com gret trouble and waires, gif it wer not keped. For K. Hary 8. was a curagious and hych conceated prince, and apperit to haue ane vprycht meanyng for the tym; and occaſions preffit hym therto, having ſa gret turnes in hand, and ſamany gret ennemys; without ſucceſſion, ſaving the foirſaid dochter; corpulant and fat, that ther was ſmall hope of vther aires; the K. being his eldeſt ſifter ſone, nereſt of bluid and ableſt to mantean and vnit the haill yle of Bretane. And as to the reteanyng of K. James the firſt, he wes not in the lyk caice, nor had not the lyk meit tym; he was not the K. of Englandis ſifter ſone, nor his apperant ayre. And what hard ſucces had the King his father, for making wair againſt the K. of England his gud brother, was ouer manifeſtly felt be the haill ſubiectis; and litle better to be loked for, incaice of a new vnneceſſary wair be maid, for your Maieſte way byding fra the ſaid meting at York.

The K. tok ſic delyt in this langage, that he determint to folow fourth the effect therof; and at the firſt meting with the prelatis, wha had then very gret reull in the contre, he culd not contean hym any langer, when they cam, trowing to ſe ther platis put in excuſion. Efter many ſour reproffis, for that they wald cauſe hym vſe ſic creuel-tie vpon ſa many noble men and barrons, to the parell of his awen eſtat, he ſaid, "wherfore gaif my predeceſſoris ſa many landis and rentis to the kirk? Was it to mentean halkis, doggis, and hures,

to a number of ydle preftis ? The K. of England burnis, the K. of Denmark beheadis you ; bot I fall ftik you with this fame quhinger." And therewith he drew out his dager vpon them, and they fled in gret fear from his prefens. Then again the King tok deliberation to fulfill his promyfe of meting with his oncle the King of England, and thocht it baith his honnour and greteft aduancement fa to do.

- P. 33. The prelatis of Scotland thinking them felues far ouerfchot, and thereby in a very hard eftait, confulted together how to bring the K. again vpon their oppinion ; and thocht meteft way was, till mak ane offer vnto the King, to pay hym yearly of the rentis of the kirk, fyfty thoufand crownis, to mentean fied wageours, by the ordinary fubiectis that obey the proclamation, in caice the K. of England wald mak warres againft Scotland for the Kingis abyding from the meting at York. And they thocht that, howbeit this gold wald be a gret alurement to the King, wha lyked weill to be riche, yet without the matter wer proponit and fauorably interpret to his Maiefte be fic as had his ear ; they beftowed largely of ther geir vnto his maift famylier faruandis, and promyfed farther vnto Olypher Singklair, that they fuld caufe hym be aduancit to gret honnoures, and to be maid maifter of the camp or lieutenant of the haill armye againft England, incaice that K. Hary wald intend any warres againft the King ; quhilk they affirmed he wald not, nor durft not for the tyme, having fa many yernes in the fyre alredy. Sa this purpos being ernestly put in head, and als ernestly apprehendit be the myngnons in court, wha be flattery wan greteft fauour ; and cheifly be drawing of fair maidnes vnto the K., and ftryving to be the firft aduertifers whais dochter fche was, and how fche mycht be obtenit, and lykwais of mens wyues ; they awaited for a convenient tyme,

when the tresorer fuld be absent ; wha was a stout bald man, therfor they durst not speak in his presens ; for he alwayes offerit the singlar comabat, and be the point of the sward to mentean any thing that he spak. Now he wes absent from court ; for the K. had geuen the ward and mariage of Kelly in Angus to his second sone, and he wes past ther to tak possession therof. In his absens then, this new deuysse wes delaited vnto the K. be Olypher Sinklair ; and sa eloquently set out be sic of the clairgy as had bene in best acquentence with his Maieste, that he gaif gud ear therto ; adding sa many vther perswasions vnto them that they had maid of before, and at sic meit tymes, when they brocht vnto hym fair maidnes and mens wyues, that he wes won again to ther oppinion. Then they tok occasion to schaw his Maieste, that the lard of Grange his tresorer was also becom ane heretik, and that he had alwayes a New Testament in Englis in his poutche ; and lykwayes that he was becom sa proud and myskennen, puft vp be his Maiesteis fauour, that na man mycht byd him ; and then that he was sa extrem gredy, that he wes vnmeit for the office of tresorer, and ouer bald to haue procured for his second sone the riche ward and mariage of Kelly, worth xx thousand pond, as they allegit. The King answerit to that, how he estymed him to be a plane frank gentilman, and that he loued him sa, that he wald geue hym again the said ward and mariage for a word of his mouth. The pryour of Pittinwem replyed and said, " Sir, the ayre of Kelly is a lusty fair lais, and I durst plege my lyf that gene your Maieste wald send for hir presently, that he fall refuse to send her vnto you."

- P. 34.** The King affirmyng still the contrary, ther was a myssyue wreten ; and the prelatys and ther factioners devysed that the said pryour of Pittinweme fuld cary the wreting, and bring ouer the maiden ayre of Kelly

to the King. Bot the treforer, wha knew hym to be his deadly enemy, refused platly ; alleging the said pryour to haue bene all his dayes a vill hurmester, and had in his tym defowled dyuers maidnes ; therefore he thocht hym ane vnmeit messenger. Wha was sa glaid as he to return with this bakward answer ; and tuk his affociatis with him vnto the K., whom they kendlit vp in ane gret colair against the treforer ; and handled the matter sa fynly and haitly, that they obtenit a warrant, and to charge the treforer till ward within the Castell of Edenbrough ; quhilk they forget not to do at his first commyng to court. He again gessit that leasingis wald be maid against him, and therefore used gret deligence to be at the K. ; and notwithstanding of ther charge, past pertly to his Maieste, wha was at his supper in Edenbrough. Bot the King looked down vpon hym, and wald not speak nor ken hym. He steppit fordwart, and said, " Sir, what offence haue I committed ? I had as mekle of your fauour when I parted with your hynes liscence, as any vther." The K. said, " Why refused thou to fend me the maiden that I wret for, and gaif proud dispytfull langage to hym that I fend." " Sir," said he, " pleise your grace, he is not about you that dar debait that leasing. As for the maiden, I said to the pryour of Pettinwem, that I was euell anoughe to be the messenger my self, and to convoy hir vnto his Maieste ; bot thocht him vnmeit, wha wes a manifest forcer of wemen, and the gretest defouler of wyues and maidnes that was in Scotland." The K. said, " Then hes thou brocht the gentilwoman with thee ?" " Yes, sir," said he. Then said the K. " Alace, they haue set out sa many leasingis against the, that they haue obtenit of me a warrant to put thee in ward ; bot I sall mend it with a contrary command." Then said the treforer, lamentingly, " It is a finall matter of

my lyf or warding; bot alace, fir, it brekis my hart that the warld fuld heir of your facilitate";—quhilk the K. layed vpon their importunite. Bot the tresorer was mair fory that, in his absens, they had caused the King to fend in England, and discharge the meting betwen him and the K. of England; wha tok sic anger and displefour that he was sa scornit, that he sent ane army in Scotland to distroy with fyre and swerd. Albeit the K. lyked nathing of this wair, he was still halden in hope that it fuld tend to his gret honour and weall; and that England had famekle a do, that they wald schone repent them, and be compellit to fut for peace or treues or it wer lang. In the mean tym theyr gold was maid redy, till encorage the K., and promyses of mekle mair incaice the war continowed.

- P. 35. The King culd not bot raife ane army to deffend his contre and subiectis, wha past to that wair, to schaw ther obedience, against ther hartis. Bot when they parfauit Olypher Sincklair raifed vp vpon mens schoulders, and proclaimed lieutenant ouer the haill armye, besyd the Solan mofs, the lord Maxuell for dispyt, wha thocht to haue had that charge, and the rest of the lordis wha mislyked that the court and contre fuld be gouernit be sic mean men, wald not feicht vnder sic a lieutenant, bot suffered them selues all to be tane presoners. Sa the haill armye being ouerthrowen, pat the K. in a gret displefour, and gaif occasion to sic as wer fauorers of the twa Kingis meting, to speak ther plesour against the prelatis procedingis. The K. also bursted out with some langage against them, quhilk cam ouer schone to ther eares; for the K. lyued not lang efter, and dyed in Facland, for displeasour, as some allegit; vthers held oppinion again, that he wes poisonit be sic of the prelatis that had brocht him in that trouble of mynd, be ther prac-

tyfes and perfwafions, and had lernit that art in Italy callit ane Italien poſſiat.

The Cardinall David Betoun was beſyd his Maieſte in the meantym, and cauſed wret a maner of ane teſtament, at his awen pleſour and dyting, as was allegit ; and therfore it was annullit and brocht bak again efterwart. Bot the K. of England culd not forget the injury and diſpleaſour for the Kingis promyſe breking, and for his death. For the angry waires that he had maid, wes rather to moue the K. and eſtatis of Scotland, to juge whither his frendſchip or fead had bene meteſt ; and was ſtill in hope with tym to haue won the K. again, with the conſent of the beſt part of his ſubiectis, to jun in band and alliance offenſywe and deffenſywe with him and his contre. For he vnderſtod of the Kingis worthy qualitis, and had a maruelous gret loue and lyk- ing of hym ; and thoct he culd not leaue the kingdome in a better hand then to his awen ſiſter ſonne, fibbeſt of bluid vnto hym, and meat- eſt of any vther to build vp a fair monarchie, to be begun firſt in a maner in his awen perfoun ; in reſpect that for his tym, (quhilk he loked wald be ſchort,) his ſiſter ſone wald be bot his coadjutour and leutenant, and efter him bruik the hailwair, vnder a religion, a law, and a leid ; and thoct therby that France ſuld neuer get plaice again, to ſteir vp the ane contre againſt the vther ; nor that the Paip ſuld never get any entre, to tak vp ſic ſowmes of filuer from his ſubiectis for confirmations of benefices, nor for his bullis and diſpenſations ; and alſo to want S<sup>t</sup> Peters peny, and his allegit ſuperiorite of England for euer. For his wrath and vengeance againſt the Paip wes excyding gret ; for he had maid hym many promyſes, and had broken them all ; fering as ſaid is till offend themperour, wha wes ſa gret and mychty a prince. Therfore



the K. of England, feing he had loft the eſperance [of] the Scotis aly-  
 ance and concurrence, compellit the gentilmen of England to eſcambion  
 ther landis, with the landis of abbayes cloſters and vther temporell  
 P. 36. kirk landis ; and gaif them mair nor ther awen to kepe, that the ſaid  
 landis fuld neuer retourn again to the kirk, without a maniſt rebel-  
 lion, or a dangerous ſubuertion of the haill eſtait of the contre. And  
 to be revengit vpon the ſaid Cardinall Daud Betoun, (whom he thoct  
 had diſappointed him of all the hope he had of Scotland,) he delt with  
 Sir George Douglaus and the Erle of Angus, wha wer bot laitley re-  
 tournit out of England, wher they abaid baniffit vnto the death of K.  
 James the fyft. Thir twa brether, appering to be of the reſourmed re-  
 ligion, perſuaded Normond Leſly meſter of Rothies, the yong lard of  
 Grange, and Jhon Leſly of Parkhill, wha had been perſecuted be the  
 ſaid Cardinall for religion, efter that he had tane ther prechour, Meſ-  
 ter George Wiſchart, and brunt him at St Androues ;—thir I ſay wer  
 eaſely ſterit vp to ſley hym, whom they wer perſuadit to be ennemy  
 to the trew religion, to the weall of the contre and thers in particulair.  
 This proud Cardinall was ſlain then in his awen caſtell of St Androues ;  
 and ſa endit, with all his practyſes, and obtenit nathing bot vain trauell  
 for his pretencis and ſodan death ; with the death of a worthy K., wha  
 wes inclynit to juſtice, and gaif na credit to his officers in thir twa ſpe-  
 ciall pointis, to reward and puniſhe. For wha euer did hym gud ſeruice,  
 he wald ſe them rewardit, yea albeit they chancit to be abſent ; and  
 anent puniſment of euell doers, ſa ſchone as he hard the complaint, he  
 lap vpon his horſe and raid to the part him ſelf, with a few company,  
 or they culd be war of him, and wald ſe ſcharp execution ; ſa that he  
 wes baith loued and feared. He wes very curagious, weill fauored and

ſchepen, ſomthing out cuted, of a midle ſtatour, very able and clean pithed; bot euell company fell about hym, entring out of adoleſſence in furious youth, and entyſed him till harlettrie; ſtryving wha ſuld ſpy out the faireſt maidnes, and lykwylſe at lenth of mens wyues; with the quhilkis he abuſed his body, to the offence of God and dyvers gud ſubiectis, and was not left vnpuniſſed; for he had bot twa yong ſonnes, and they died baith within xlvij houres; ſa that at his diſceſe, he had bot a only dochter, callit Mary, new born when he was vpon his dead bed; at quhilk tym he was bot of the age of [thirty-one.]

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whether the mariage with the Delphin of France fuld tak effec or not ; for euen then ther wer twa factions in the Frenche court. Firft the brether of the houle of Guife, as the Duc of Guife and Cardinall of Lorraine, brether to our Quen Dowagier, and oncles to our yong Quen Mary, preffit ernesly to fet fordwart the laid mariage with France. The auld Conftable Duc of Montmorancy was of oppinion, that it was me-teft to mary hir vpon fome duc or prence of France, and to fend them baith hame to abyd in Scotland, and to hald ther awen contre in gud obedience. Becauſe when prencis ar abſent, and far af fra ther awen, rewling ther contrees be lieutenantis, maift commonly the ſubiectis of ſic contrees vſes to rebell ; quhilk gene the ſubiectis in Scotland did, it wald be hard and coiftly to get them reducit ; and therby, in ſted to mak France the better of the mariage with the Delphin, it mycht mak it to be in a far war caice. The houle of Guife, again, deſyring to haue ther fiſter dochter Quen of France, till augment ther reputation and credit, preualit ; alleging how it wald be baith honorable and proffit-able to the crown of France, and that ther wald be reuenus enough to mantean garniſſons within the contree, to hald the ſubiectis vnder obedience ; bigging ma citadelis, and hauyng the haill ſtrenthes in ther handis.

In Scotland alſo, the Quen Regent was of the ſame oppinion with hir brether, and beleued to haue the haill prelatis vpon hir ſyd ; wha had  
 P. 38. gret reull and autorite for the tym, and had affiſted hir to the breking of the contract of mariage with England, and tranſporting of the yong Quen to France. Bot now the Archebiſchop of S<sup>t</sup> Androwes began to think, that incaice the yong Quen died without ſucceſſion of hir body, that the Erle of Arran his neveu mycht the eyfelyer be crownit, (the

Gouverneur his father being already in possession,) was against the transporting of the crown matrimonial till France; and having for the tyme the haill gyding baith of the Gouverneur his brother and of the contre, drew easely the maist part of the prelatis vpon his oppinion. Wherthrow the Quen Dowagier wes compellit to address hir to a contrary faction, to wit, the maist part of the nobilite and bourrowes, wha wer becom professours of the reformed religion. Wynnyng twa of the estaitis vpon hir fyd, sche obtenit hir intent; quhilk maid hir eftirwart to schaw greter fauour vnto them of the reformed religion, ouerfeing ther secret prechingis; wherby the religion increffit, sa that the maist part of the contre becam professours or protestantis, and sic as wer baniffit for religion and for the Cardinalis slachter, brocht hame to fortifie the faction that fauorit maist the weall of hir Maiesteis affaires. In the mean tyme the bischop of Sanctandrowes fell seak, sa that he lost his speach and was geuen ouer for dead; at what tyme the Quen Dowagier tok occasion to get the gouvernement out of the L. Hammiltouns handis, be the help of the faidis lordis protestantis and ther dependers. Bot eftirwart the bischop recouerit his speatch, be the strange industrie of Cardanus, as wes allegit; wha when he hard that his brother my L. Hammiltoun had geuen ouer the gouvernement to the Quen, he was in a gret rage, and maid a gret exclamation, saying, "Fy on him beast, ther is bot a skitteren las between hym and the crown." Alwayes, be sic meanis, the Quen Dowagier becam Quen Regent.

The mariage of hir dochter Quen Mary being perfourmed with Francis Delphin of France, a litle before wynnyng of Calice be the Duc of Guise, now com hame out of Italy, wher he had bene with a faire army to help Pape Caraph; wha had caused the K. of France brek the trewes with the

K. of Spaine, for his particulair ; and not only caused the said K. brek the paice, together with his solemne oath at the eating of the sacrement between the commiffioners of the twa Kingis, bot also the Pape brak his promys maid to the K. and Duc of Guise, efter his turn was seruit be the said armye sent in Italy ; quhilk salbe mair particlairly declairit in another place. Be the breking of the said paice, the K. of France tint the battaill of Sinkantin, and the battaill of Grevelins, with the toun of S<sup>t</sup> Quentin, Han, and Cattlelet. Wherby the K. of Francis estait wes sa hard, that he wes compellit to tak ane hurtfull paice, at Catteau Cambrisy ; wher I wes for the tym with my maister the Constable, yet captiue, as he wes tane prifoner at the said battall of St Quentin.

P. 39. With the said Constable wer adjunit in commiffion the Cardinalis of Lorrain, Chatillon, Marchall of St Andre, Bifchop of Orleans, and the secretaire Aubepin. For the K. of Spain wer the Duc of Alb, Prince of Orange, Sir Rygomes Espanioll, and Cardinall Granvell. For Quen Mary of England wer commiffioners, my L. Willyem Hauert, the Bifchop of Ely, and Doctour Wittoun. Thir commiffioners maid paice between France, Spain, England and Scotland. Not without cause mak I mention of this paice, quhilk the Constable was earnest to bring to pass, and the Cardinall of Lorrain desyrit warres ; for by the paice, the Constable wald get liberte to com hame out of prifoun, to gyd the K. and court of France as he was wont to do ; by the warres, he wald remain prifoner, leaving the gouvernement of the K. and court of France to the Cardinall, and Duc of Guise his brother. Spain, that wer victorious, tok aduantage of ther stryf and emulation ; and France and England loft be the said paice ; the King inclyning maist to the Constables confell. England again desyring that Calice fuld be restored

vnto them, and beleuit that the K. of Spain wald not agre, without they wer satisfeid in ther demandes, wer frustrat of ther expectation. At lenth feing the tua gret Kingis cairles of ther contentement, they seamed to be content (albeit they wer not) with a scornfull midis that was casten in be the Cardinall of Lorrain ; to wit, that Calice suld be renderit vnto them at the end of aucht year, or else fywe hundreth thowland crowns ; and for payment of the said fowm, incaice the said town was not renderit vnto them at the end of the tym specified, that in the mean tym they suld haue thre gret men of France to kep, as pleges for the said fowm. Now the Englis commiffioners knew that nathing of this wald be kepit to them, seamed to be satisfied neuertheles, feing them left and abandonit be the commiffioners of Spain.

So the paice being concludit, Spain obtenit all ther desyres ; the Constable obtenit liberte ; the Cardinall of Lorrain culd not mend him self, na mair nor the commiffioners of England. This aduantage the said Cardinall tok at that tym, to cause the first article of the paice be, that all Christian and Catholyk princes aucht to leaue ther percialities, and jun together till suppress the gret multitud of heretikis, that wer so increffit throw ther diuision, that it wald be hard enough to the Paip, themperour, the Kingis of Spain and France, together with the Quen of Scotland, to reduce them again to the Catholyk faith. Another aduantage the said Cardinall thocht to recompense his lossis with wes, that at the end of the aucht yeares, when England wald lok other to get Calice restored again to them, or elis the fowmes of gold abone specified, he intendit to cause proclam the Quen of Scotland his sifter dochter, rychtuons Quen of England, and allege this Quen Elyfabethe to be bot a bastard ; and be that way, not only Calice bot all England suld partean to the

Quen of Scotland. As for the plegis, sic men to be chofen out that  
P. 40. France wald mak litle accompt of ther tincell ; as Mons<sup>r</sup> de Candall,  
Mons<sup>r</sup> de Palefau, and the Erle of Nantullet prouest of Paris.

Efter the making of this paice, ambaffadours wer sent till Flanders and  
England ; the Cardinall of Lorrain out of France to fwer and tak the  
King of Spanes aith, and to fwer for the K. of France obferuation therof ;  
the S<sup>cr</sup>etair Dardois wes also fend out of France, to do the lyk in the  
name of the Delphin of France, and Quen of Scotland his spoufe ; ge-  
ving them this new styll, " In the name of Francis and Mary King and  
Quen of Scotland, England, and Yreland, Delphin and Delphinnes of  
Viennois." Wherat the Duc of Alb and Cardinall Granuell fmyled, and  
faid, this will bred some new busynes or it be lang. The Cardinall of  
Lorrain fchortly efter caufed renew all the Quen of Scotlandis filuer  
veffell, and pat theron the armories of England. The Marchall of  
Montmorancy, the Conftables eldeft fone, wes sent in England to fwer  
the paice, and to tak the Quen of Englandis aith ; bot fa fchone as thir  
new stylls and armories wer knawen to Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun,  
then ambaffadour for the Quen of England in France, he complenit to  
the K. and confaill, and gat bot Dutche excufes ; alleging that, in  
Dutcheland, all the prencis brether, cufins or bairnes, ar styllit prencis  
or duckis of that fame houfe.

To fwer the paice in Scotland, the Conftable wald haue the K. to fend  
me ; bot the Cardinall of Lorrain allegit, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Buttoncourt mester  
houfhald to the Quen Regent meter ; becaufe the inftructions tendit to  
declair vnto the Quen Regent, how that the firft and principall article  
of the paice wes, that the Paip, themperour, the Kinges of Spain and  
France, fuld band together to reduce again the maift part of Europe to

the Romain Catholik religion, and till perfew and punis with fyre and fwerd all heretikis that wald not willingly condiscend to the fame; willing the Quen Regent to do the lyk in Scotland, and to begin in tym, before the heresies fuld spred any farther; quhilk, be her gentill bearing, had already tane ouer gret place, as was reported to the K. of France; preing hir diligently to put ordour therto, without any fear or respect of perfones; feing that na contre it allain was able to withstand the haill forces of sa many confederat gret Catholik prencis. Wherat the Quen Regent apperit to be fory, becaufe that they wer hir best frendis for the tym, that wer noted to be professours of the reformed religion; and be the deligent prechingis of the minifters, wer growen to sic a gret nomber, that it wald be a dangerous and difficill matter to get them compellit.

Bot the instructions of Buttoncourt, afweill to Mons<sup>r</sup>. Doseill lieutenant in Scotland for the K. of France, sa also to sic vthers as had gretest credit about hir Maieste, wer sa earnest and sa strait, with some boist, that sche determinit to set fordwart a strait commandement, a litle before Paice, (Easter,) that euery man gret or small fuld obserue the Catholik Romane religion, to pafs daly to the mels; and then at Paice to mak ther confession in the ear of a prest, and resaue the sacrement. And be mouth, to sa many of the nobilite and vthers that hir Maieste was acquainted with, sche admoniffit them, and schew them the commiffion that wes sent to hir out of France; and the danger, incaice it wer not obeyed.

- P. 41. Quhilk when the nobilite and the estaits of the contre perfault to be earnest, and wer also boistid be Mons<sup>r</sup>. Doseill, they left the court, and consulted togither what was metest for them to do; then send vnto hir Maieste my Lordis of Argyll and Lord James Pryour of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes, to schaw hir Maieste, in name and behalf of the rest, how that they wer



parmitted be hir Maieſte to haue ther awen miniſters of ſic a lang continuance, ſometymes ſecretly and ſometymes openly ; that the trew religion had tane ſic rut into them be hir tollerance, and that the number of trew profeſſours wer ſa gret and increaſt, that they wald rather geue ther lyues than to rekant ; and eſtemed ther vocation lawfull, becauſe ſche gaif ſic power to them that wer noblemen, ſchereſis and maieſtratis vnder hir.

This langage ſche thocht as ſtrange, as they thocht hir proclamation ; ſa that ſche began to perfecut, and they to rebell, and tak the feildis, and band them ſelues togither, vnder the name of the Congregation ; and thereafter brak down ymages, kirkis and cloſters. And the Quen Regent ſend to France, and aduertifed of that diſordour quhilk wes fallen fourth, requyring mair help and forces, or elis all wald be loſt ; and ſche feared that my L. James pryour of S<sup>t</sup> Androus, ſone naturell to K. James the 5., wald vnder pretext of this new religion, vſurp the crown of Scotland, and pluk it clean away from the Quen hir dochter, without ſodain remedy wer put therto. Wherupon the Conſtable of France tok occaſion to moue the K., whais penſioner I was for the tym, to ſend me in Scotlaud. Firſt the K. gaue me his commiſſion be mouth ; and then the Conſtable, his cheif conſeillour, directed me at lenth in his Maieſteis preſens as folowes.

“Your natyue Quen,” ſaid he, “is married heir in France vpon the King Delphin ; and the King is inſourmed be the Cardinall of Lorrain, that ane baſtard ſone to K. James 5., callit Priour de S<sup>t</sup> Andre, pretendis vnder coulour of religion till vſurp the kingdome vnto him ſelf. His Maieſte knawes that I was euer againſt the ſaid marriage heir ; fearing therby to mak our auld frendis our new ennemys, as is lyk till com till paſs this day ; bot I gaue ouer gret place to the houſe of Guife, to deall in the

affaires of Scotland, becaufe the Quen Regent is ther fister. Now feing ther violent proceedingis fa lyk to caufe the kingdome of Scotland be loft from the lawfull Quen, I mon nedis medle and put to my helping hand, as having better experience of the nature of that nation nor apperantly they haue. I affure yow, that the K. is myndit to wair and hazard his crown, and all that he has, rather or your Quen want hir rycht, now feing that fche is married vpon his fone; and purpofis to raife and fend ane armye in Scotland for that effect. Quhilk he wald fayn efchew, gif it wer poffible; for now, efter that his Maiefte hes had wairres lang anough with his auld ennemys, and agreed with them for gud respectis, he is laith till enter again in a new vnneceffary wair with his auld frendis, quhilk parchance is brocht on be euell handling, and not in ther deffalt. I heir that Mons<sup>r</sup> Doseill is collerick, and ouer angry and impatient folkis ar not meit to reull ouer far and frembd cuntries. I haue alfo intelligence, that the Quen Regent has not kepit all thingis promysed vnto them. The K. my maifter is not fa rafche

P. 41. as to geue haifty credence, that Scotland, wha haue keped falang frendfchip with France, will now fa leichtly brek the auld band, nor abandon deute to ther lawfull prince. Again, what inconvenientis may aryfe vpon fic far and ouerfee warres; the King is not yngnorant, what gret charges it is till fournifch out fchippis, quhilkis parchance may be thryfe vitallit before they mak faill, be raifoun of contrary windis; and then, the accustomed stormes of your fees ar very parelous. Was not the Markyſs de Albeuf, with his fchippis, dryuen vpon the coaft of Norroway, when he thocht to haue landit in Scotland, fa that his voyage did na gud bot expenſis? Tak that our army wer weill landit in Scotland, how oft may they haue neid of fupport, when we, be rai-

foun of thir and findry vther lyk difficulteis, will not be able to help them, as we haue ouer gud experience, when Mons<sup>r</sup> de Lorge was there ?

“ I haue brocht you vp from a chylde ; I understand that ye ar com of a gud houe ; I haue assured the King what gud proif I haue of your honestie ; sa that his Maieste is weill myndit towardis yow ; at whais hand I hope ye fall deserue at this tym a gud reward. This is a nother maner of commiffion, and of greter importance than it that Bottoun-court caried ; for the K. will stay or send his armye according to your trew report. Seam only to be ther for to vesit your frendis ; bot let nether the Quen Regent, nor Doseill know of your commiffion, quhairin ye ar employed be the K., wha is now your best maister.

“ First try deligently and parfytly weill, whither the said Pryour pretendis till vsurp the crown of Scotland to him self ; or gene he be mouit to tak armes only of conscience, for deffence of his religion, him self and his dependers and associatis. Nyxt try what promysys ar broken vnto him and them ; be whom, and at whais instance. Thridly, gene they desyre another lieutenant, in steid of Mons<sup>r</sup> Doseill.

“ Gif it be only religion that moues them, we mon commit Scotifmens faules vnto God ; for we haue enough ado to reull the consciences of our awen contre men. It is the obedience dew vnto ther lawfull Quen with ther bodyes, that the K. desyres. Gene ane promysys be maid to them and not kepit, the King nor I has not the wyet. Gif they desyre another lieutenant in sted of Doseill, the K. fall send ane that I hope fall please them.” He merit of Mons<sup>r</sup> Dandelot, his sisters sone.

Efter that the Constable had endit his instructions, the K. layd his hand vpon my schulder, and said, “ Do as my goffop hes directed, and

I sall reward yow." Sa I kiffit his Maiesteis hand, and tok my leaue, posting throw England, and fand the Quen Regent within the auld tour of Facland ; becaufe that fame day, hir army vnder my L. Duc Hamnil-toun and Mons<sup>r</sup> Doseill, wes rangit in battaill vpon Couper mure, against the lordis of the congregation. At what tyme, hir Maieste maid ane hard mean vnto me of hir disobedient subiectis ; bot euen as I was speaking with hir, the Duc and Mons<sup>r</sup> Doseill cam bak fra the said mure, without battaill ; wherat the Quen wes very far offendit, and thocht that they had lost a very fair occasion.

- P. 43. Then I vsed gret moyens to get fur knowlege gene my L. James Pryour of Sanctandrowes minted to mak hym self K., as was reported of hym. Mester Hendre Belnaves was then in gret credit with hym, and loued me as his awen sone, be some acquaintance I had with him in France, and plesoures I had done to him during his banishment. He first schew vnto me, sa far as he knew of my L. James intention ; and encouragit me to be plane with the said L. James, and assured me of secrecie, and of honest and plain dealing ; for he was a godly, learnit, lang experimented, wyse confellor ; and past with me to the said Lord Pryour. Who efter I had schawen him my commiffion, quhilk was very acceptable vnto hym, he delayed not till aduysse with any vther of his counsaill, what answer he suld geue me, bot instantly and plainly schew me his mynd, in presens of the said mester Hendre. First, he declairit what acceptable seruice he and his associatis had done to the Quen Regent, cheifly of lait when as the bischop of St Androwes had drawen the maist part of the clargy against the mariage, and transporting of the crown matrimoniall in France ; albeit he had bene a cheif affifter of hir to transport the yong Quen ther, and to perswad the Go-

uernour his brother to brek the contract of mariage with K. Edward of England, as is abone specified. He tald also, what liberte of conscience and ouersicht hir Maieste had granted vnto them, vntill the tym that hir maister houshald, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bouttoncourt, retournit from France with the newes of the paice. And wher as fche had sen syn chengit hir behauiour and contenance towardis him and them that had done hir best seruice, he knew weill anough that it proceadit not of hir awen gud natoure, bot be the persuations and thretenyngis of hir brether and frendis in France; and farther reherfit vnto me all hir and ther formair proceadingis, wherof mention is maid alredy; affirmyng still his gud will to hir Maiesteis seruice. And to put the Kingis Maieste of France, and hir Maieste, out of all suspition of his vfurpation, he suld banise him self perpetually out of Scotland, gif it wald please the K. of France and the Quen his souerane, to grant hym and his associatis sic liberte as the Quen Regent had parmitted them, vntill the hame-commynge of the said Buttoncourt; prouyding that his rentis suld com to him till France, or any vther contre wher he pleasit to remain. And for securete heirof, sufficient plegis of the noblemen sonnes of Scotland suld be sent in France; that na K. nor Quen of before has had better obedience, nor the Quen his souerane, notwithstanding of hir absens, suld haue.

With this answer, I tok my journey throw England till France; and at New Castell fell in company with ane Englisman, wha was ane of the Quenis varletis of hir chamber; a man learnit in mathematik, negromancye, astrologie, and was also a gud geographe; wha had bene send be the confaill of England to the borders, and to draw a cart or map of sic landis as lyes louse betwen England and Scotland; quhilk

cretly in the nycht tak vp hir fathers banes, and maid them to be brunt: This the honest man affirmed to be trew, and not knawen till many. He wes a man of gret grauite, about fyfty yeares of age; and when we cam till London, he schew me gret courtesie, and maid me presentis of some bukis.

At my retournyng in France, I fand gret chengement. The King Hendre 2. being hurt in the head with the skelv of a spair, be the Conte of Mongommery, at the triumphall justin of his dochters mariage with the K. of Spain, died aucht dayes efter, in the Turnelles at Paris; and the Conftable my maifter wes commandit to retyre him fra court to his houle, be the new K. Francis the 2. husband till our souerane; halely gydit then be the Duc of Guise and Cardinall of Lorrane, compeditours to the said Conftable be court emulation. Quhilk was cause that my voyage and answer wes all in vain; for that purpos and plat fuld haue bene brocht till pafs by the houle of Guise, wha wer thocht to be cheif causers of the troubles in Scotland.

P. 45. When I schew the Conftable at his houle the answer of my commiffion, quhilk was till his awen hartis defyre, the teares cam ouer his cheikis, faying, "Alace for the los of the K. my gud maifter, that he fuld not haue seane before his death Scotland recouerit again, quhilk he eftemed tint; and ye ar also frustrat of a gud reward, quhilk this your seruice merited. Now I haue not sic moyen as I had till aduance yow; bot gene ye will tak sic part as I haue, ye falbe very welcom." I answerit, that as I had bene with him in his prosperete, I wald not leane him in his aduerfite.

Now ther wes na mair apperance of concord betwen the Quen Regent and the Congregation in Scotland; for the K. of France wes raisen men

of wair to fend in Scotland. The Congregation again focht help of the Quen of England ; quhilk they obtenit, the rather becaufe that the Englis ambaffadour refident in France aduertift his meftres, how that the Quen of Scotland and hir huſband had tane on the ſtyll of England and Yreland, and alſo the armes vpon ther filuer plait and tappifferyes.

The Quen Regent, with Mons<sup>r</sup> Doſeill and the Frenchemen, incloife them ſelues within Leith ; quhilk they did fortifie to kep, the better to reſaue the Frenche ſupport that wes daly lukit for to ther releaf. At lenth they that wer befegit maid a forty, tok the artilgerie, and cauſed the Congregation to fle and retire, till ane army of England cam in vnder the condit of the Duc of Norfolk. At what tym the Quen Regent, being euell at eaſe for the ſee air in Leith, retirrit hir ſelf to the Caſtell of Edenburgh, wher ſche tok ſeaknes and died. During the tym that Leith was beſegit baith be Scotland and England, then all Scottiſmen that wer in France wer deteſted, and dyuers of them vpon ſuſpition maid priſoners ; quhilk cauſed me repair to the court from the Conſtables houſe, and requyred liſſence at the Quen my ſouerain to yeſit vther contres, wherby I mycht be mair able efterwart to do hir Maieſte agreable ſeruice. Hir Maieſte preſented me to the K. hir huſband ; kiſſing his Maieſteis hand, I tok my leaue ; and the Conſtable my gud maifter, together with the Conte Rygraue, wret in my fauouris to the Electour Palatin, wher I was aduyfit firſt to remain, to learn the Duche tong ; and wes courteſly reſaut be the ſaid Prince Electour, and obtenit ſic fauour with tym, that he ſend me in France ſa ſchone as he hard of the death of Francis 2. K. of France, wha died at Orleance in the year [1560.]

I wes ſend to condoll for the ſaid Kingis death, as the cuſtom of

princes is, and reioise with the new yong K. Charles the ix. ; also to comfort our Quen and the Quen mother. This Kingis death maid a gret chengement ; for the Quen mother was blyeth of the death of K. Francis hir fone, becaufe sche had na gyding of him, bot only the Duc of Guise and Cardinall his brother, be raifoun that the Quen our maistres  
P. 46. wes ther fister dochter. Sa the Quen mother was content to be quyt of the gouvernement of the house of Guise ; and for ther cause, sche had a gret mislyking of our Quen. In the mean tym the King of Navar and Prince of Conde his brother, that wer wardit and fuld haue bene execut thre dayes efter, the skaffald being alredy preparit, wer be the Quen mother releaut. The Constable also chargit to com to the court loked for na les, and seamed to be seak, making litle journees caried in a horse litter, drewe tym sa lang be the way that the K. in the mean tym died. Then he lap on horsbak and cam fracly to the court and commandit, lyk a Constable, the men of wair that gardit the croun be the Duc of Guise commandement, to pak them aff the toun. The Quen mother wes also very glaid of his commyng, that be his autorite and frendschip with the K. of Navar, sche mycht the better dryue the house of Guise to the dur. The estaitis chancit to be convenit at Orleans for the tym ; the K. of Navar, as neresst of bluid, fell to be tutour and gouvernour to the yong K. and contre ; bot the Quen mother knawing his facillite, handled the matter sa fynly be the Constables help, that the K. of Navar procurit at the thre estaitis to grant that the Quen mother mycht be regent of the realm ; wher he gaif hir ouer his place, and wes content to be bot hir lieutenant.

Efter that sche had won this hich point, sche caused the estaitis requyre a compt to be maid vnto them, afweill be the Constable as be



the Duc of Guise and the Cardinall, and Marchall of St Andre, of ther handling of the Kingis rentis and affaires of the crown and contre ; quhilk becaufe they culd not justly do, they wer fayn to leaue the court, as also the Marchall of St Andre, and bandit together to deffend them selues against the Quen mothers malice ; for sche wes a deadly ennemy to all them that had gydit other hir husband or hir eldest sone. I was all the whyll ther at Orleance, wher I mycht se this chengement ; and in gret fauour with the said K. of Navar, for the Electour Palatins saik, wha was his gretest frend ; and lyk wayes the Quen mother maid gret accompt of the said Prince Electour, and dispatched me with gret thankis and a fair reward worth a thowland crownis. Our Quen also, feing her frendis in disgrace, and knawen hir self no to be weill lyked, left the court, and was a forowfull wydow when I tok my leaue at hir in a gentilmans house four myll fra Orleans. Sa I returnit in Dutcheland, with many instructions fra the Quen mother and K. of Navar ; for the Quen mother apperit to be a gaitwart to profess publykly the reformed religion, thinking it the metest way to reteane the gouvernement and gyding of the K. of Navar, and the metest faction to gainstand the house of Guise, wha wer bandit with the Paip and K. of Spain. The said Quen again had in hir head to band with the princes protestantis of Dutcheland, and with the Quen of England, and with the Conte of Eggemont, Prince Orange, Conte of Horn, and sic as had in the Low Contrees embraffit the religion reformed.

I being retournit in Dutcheland, resauit newes out of England fra Maister Killigrew my auld frend, how that the paice was concludit in Scotland at the seige of Leith ; that the Frenchemen fuld be caried in  
 P. 47. France be the Quen of Englandis schippis, and the Congregation till

haue the fre exerciſion of ther religion ; the Quen of Scotland to put away the armories of England, and alſo the ſtyll ; and the paice maid at Cambrifis to ſtand as it was ther concludit. I leaue all the proceedingis vpon the warres in Scotland to ſic as wer preſent, and will wret that haill hiſtory ; only I tueche ſic litle as I was employed intill my ſelf, or wher I wes preſent, and ſaw with my eyn and hard with my eares ; quhilk may ſerue for litle parenteſis to the hiſtory wreters that par-chance wanted the knowlege therof.

Our Quen, then Douagiere of France, retired hir ſelf be litle and litle farther and farther fra the court of France ; that it ſuld not ſeem that ſhe was in any fort compellit therunto, as of a treuth ſhe was, be the Quen mothers rygorous and vengeable dealing ; wha allegit that ſhe was diſpyſed be hir gud dochter, during the ſhort regne of K. Francis 2. hir huſband, be the inſtigation of the houſe of Guiſe.

Mons<sup>r</sup> de Martegnes, Mons<sup>r</sup> Doſeill, Mons<sup>r</sup> la Brois, the biſhop of Amyence, Mons<sup>r</sup> Ruby, and ſic vthers Frenchemen as wer laitly caried out of Scotland within the Engliſch ſchippis, reſorted vnto the Quen, and delared vnto hir the haill progres and ſucces of ther pretencis ; and aſweill they as the reſt of hir frendis, aduyſit hir to return in Scotland, and encuragit hir with the hope to ſucceed vnto the crown of England, rather then to abyde the Quen mothers diſdain in France ; and for hir beſt, willit hir to ſerue the tym, and till accommod hir ſelf diſcretly and gently with hir awen ſubiectis, and to be maiſt famylier with my L. James Pryour of St Androwes hir naturell brother, and with the Erle of Argyll, wha had married Lady Jene Stuart hir naturell ſiſter ; and to uſe the ſecretair Liddingtoun, and the lard of Grange maiſt tenderly in all hir affaires ; and in effect, to repoſe maiſt vpon them of

the reformed religion. Sa they that wer a litle before creully persecuted, ar now to be suted for cheffest and surest frendis. Thus way can God be his devyn provydence renverse the fynest practyses and pretences of mychty reulers and potentatis, and turn all to the best vnto them that serues him with a fencer hart. On the other part, God abhorris all sic subiectis as hypocritically vnder pretext of religion, tak occasion to rebell against ther natyf princes, for ambition, gredynes or any warldly respect.

The Pryour of St Androwes being aduertist of the Quen his foveranis deliberation to return in Scotland, and to vse him and his frendis aduyse by all vthers, he passis him self in France, and requeiftis hir Maieste to com hame till her awen ; promysen to serve hir faithfully to the vttermaist of his power ; and returnis again in Scotland befor hir, to prepar the hartis of the subiectis again hir hame commyng. Eftir this hir Maieste past to Jenville, the Duc of Guise duelling plaice, and about the marches of Lorrain, and at lenth past to vesit the Duc of  
**P. 48.** Lorrain at Nancy ; wher I chancit to com schortly efter in company with the Duc Hans Casymir, second sone to my Lord Electour Palatin. Bot the Quen wes alredy parted fra the court of Lorrain toward Jenville, wher I tok occasion to vesit hir Maieste, with the offer of my maist humble and dewtifull seruice ; and the said Duc Casymir vnderstanding that I wes to ryd ther, did wret a very humble letter vnto hir Maieste, conforting hir the best he culd, and with the offer of his seruice, incaice any in France wald do hir wrang or injury, to bring vnto hir ayd ten thowland men vpon her semple letter. Hir Maieste wes mekle rejosit at this his honest offer, for euen then sche had ado with the help and confort of hir frendis ; and gaif me also many thankis for the opinion sche had found alwais in the court of France, of my affection

towardis hir seruice ; defyring me earnestly, when I wes to retire me out of Germany, to com hame and serue hir Maieste, with frendly and fauorable offers. Sa I returnit bak to the Duc Casymyr, wha was ther to mak a mariage with the Duc of Lorrains eldest fister ; quhilk tok not effect, because the auld dutches hir mother, who wes K. Chriftyarnus dochter of Denmark, gottin vpon the Emperour Charles fister, wha also lost the kingdom of Denmark, pretending to mak it heritable, wheras it wes electywe, the said K. Chriftyarnus wes kepit in presoun vntill his death : This dutches his dochter allegit the kingdome of Noroway appartean vnto hir as ayr vnto hir father, and that the said kingdome wes heredytair vnto hir father, albeit not Denmark ; and intendit to mary hir eldest dochter then vpon Frederik K. of Denmark, and to geue ouer with hir said dochter the kingdome of Noroway. Bot the said dutches offerit hir second dochter to the Duc Casymir, quhilk he also refusit, and delt with his father to send me in England to propon mariage for him vnto the Quen of England ; quhilk I refused to do, knowing as I beleued that sche wald never mary, vpon the conceat that I had that sche, knowing hir self vnable for succeffion, be the taill that her varlet of her chamber had tald me, I said still that sche wald not render hir self subiect till any man. The said duc wes very angry at me, because I refusit to pass with that commiffion.

About this tym the Cardinall of Lorrain being at Trent, tok occasion to vefit the auld Emperor Ferdynand at Yfbruck, his duelling place not far fra Trent. And ther the said Cardinall proponit tua mariages ; first, the K. of France Charles the ix, to the eldest dochter of Maximilien sone to Ferdynand, and new chosen King of Romanis and conijutor to thempyre ; then he proponit the Quen of Scotland, dowa-

gier of France, to Charles Archeduc of Auftria, brother to the faid Maximilien. The Quen was then retournit in Scotland, and appeirantly efterwart aduertift be the faid Cardinall, how he had proponit the faid mariage and had gottin a gud anfuer.

- P. 49. The Quen being returnit in Scotland, was glaidly welcom vnto the haill fubiectis. For folowing the confaill of hir frendis, fche behaued hir felf humanly vnto them all; bot committed the cheif handling of hir affaires to hir brother the Pryour of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes, (whom efterwart fche maid Erle of Murray,) and to the fecretaire Liddingtoun, as meteft baith to hald the contre at hir deuotion, and alfo to pak vp a ftrait frendfchip between hir Maiefte and the Quen of England. For my L. of Murray had gret credit with my L. Robert Dudly, wha was efterwart maid Erle of Leceifter; and the fecretary Liddingtoun had gret credit with the fecretaire Cicill. Sa thir four packit vp a ftrait and fifterly frendfchip between the twa Quenis and ther contrees, as apperit outwardly na mair difference in langage, bot that the Quen of England wes the eldeft fifter, and the Quen of Scotland the yonger fifter, whom the Quen of England promysed to declair fecond perfone, with tym, according to hir gud behauour; fa that lettres and intelligence pafft oukly be poff between them, and nathing mair defyred for the firft then that they mycht fea vther, be a meating at a convenient place, wherby they mycht alfo declair ther hartly and loving myndis till vther. For the ingratitude and mishandling of our Quen be the Quen Mother of France, moued hir the mair cairfully and ernestly to mak frendfchip by hir, and ratheft with them whom fche lyked worft; for then the houle of Guife wer alfo be hir decourted at the eftaitis of Orleans, as is fpecified of before. The twa Quenis keping on this ma-

myd, with the plain and honeft  
 myty efterwart.  
 Scotland from the fecretary Lid-  
 willing me to be acquainted with the  
 ageit brother to Maximilien, then K. of  
 for themperour Ferdinand his auld  
 of his age. This Charles had bene  
 Lorrain for to mary the Quen our maiftres,  
 knew of his religion, of his  
 and to fend hame word to the Quen ; as  
 and his pictour to fend therwith, gif it culd  
 that I mycht eafely know and obtean  
 Electour Palatin my maifter, for the tym  
 with the faid Maximilien.  
 Electour had be auentour of his awen head, (he beand  
 halden in Aufbrugh) askit at Maximilian,  
 or the matter that the Cardinall of Lorrain had  
 his father Ferdinand, that tym that he cam to him  
 the counsell wer fittand for the tym. For the gud Elec-  
 for fome papifticall matters ; for Ferdinand wes a  
 and Maximilien feamed to be a zelous protestant. For  
 bot laityly chofen King of Romanis at Franckfort, not  
 Being one of the feuen electours him felf, as King  
 had to fitt fix electours for ther votis ; to wit, thre princes  
 the Electour Palatin, Duc of Sax, and Markifs of Bran-  
 and thre butchoppes, Magonce, Triers, and Colen, catholikis.  
 wer put in hope that being Emperour, he wald

declair him ſelf to the proteſtantis, efter the diſceſe of Ferdinand his father ; and in the mean tym vſed ſecret prechingis to pleaſe them. On the other part he paſt openly to the meſs, wherby the biſchoppis thocht them ſelues aſſured of him ; bot the gud Electour Palatin beleued firmly that he wald ſchaw him ſelf a plain proteſtant efter his fathers diſceſe. Alwais, he wan baith the parties to becom Emperour, and tald the Electour Palatin, at the convention in Aufburgh, how that the Cardinall of Lorrain had proponit twa mariages to themperour his father. The ane wes Charles the yong K. of France, to Maximiliens eldeſt dochter ; the other wes the Quen of Scotland douagier of France, to his brother the Archeduc Charles. The Electour inquyred how he lyked of the twa mariages. He ſaid, he culd not bot lyk weill of them ; ſeing he culd not get a better matche to his dochter then the K. of France, nor to his brother then the Quen of Scotland, douagier of France, and as the Cardinall allegit, to haue rycht alſo to the crown of England. The Electour ſaid, ſen that he lykit weill of his brothers marriage with the Quen of Scotland, that he had a Scottiſch gentilman with him, wha culd ſchaw him perfyty of that richt and of the eſtatis of England and Scotland, and culd be a gud inſtrument, to bring fordwart the ſaid marriage.

Wherupon Maximilien deſyred to ſpeak with me ; and becauſe I was abſent in the contre of Heſſe for the tym, to ſend me vnto him at my retournyng ; quhilk the gud Electour did, and ſend with me ane of his confell, callit Mons<sup>r</sup> Zuleger, geving us together a commiſſion to deall for Vlrich Fouker, wardit be his awen frendis becauſe of his extraordinair magnificence, quhilk they allegit to be waifting prodigalite ; and he again allegit that they did it becauſe he wes a pro-

ner ther outwart frendſchip for a whyll, with the plain and honeſt menyng of our Quen, as I knew perfytylly efterwart.

Ther cam a wretynge to me out of Scotland from the ſecretary Liddingtoun, be the Quenis command, willing me to be acquainted with the Archeduc Charles of Auftria, yongeſt brother to Maximilien, then K. of Romans, and Emperour in effect ; for themperour Ferdinand his auld father bur bot the name, be raiſoun of his age. This Charles had bene proponit be the Cardinall of Lorrain for to mary the Quen our maiſtres, as is elſ ſpecified. I wes then defyred to knaw of his religion, of his rentis, and of his qualites, and to fend hame word to the Quen ; as alſo of his age and ſtature, and his pictour to fend therwith, gif it could be poſſible ; quhilk wes thocht that I mycht eaſely knaw and obteane be the meanis of the Prince Electour Palatin my maiſter, for the tym greteſt in fauour be apperance with the ſaid Maximilien.

Now my ſaid L. Electour had be auentour of his awen head, (he beand at ane imperiall convention halden in Aufbrugh) aſkit at Maximilien, what wes the errand or the matter that the Cardinall of Lorrain had bene in dealing with his father Ferdinand, that tym that he cam to him out of Trent, wher the confell wer fittand for the tym. For the gud Elector fearit that it wes for ſome papifticall matters ; for Ferdinand wes a deuot Catholik, and Maximilien ſeamed to be a zelous proteſtant. For

P. 80. Maximilien wes bot laitly choſen King of Romanis at Franckfort, not without difficulte. Being ane of the ſeuen electours him ſelf, as King of Bohem, he had to ſut ſex electours for ther votis ; to wit, thre princes proteſtantis, the Electour Palatin, Duc of Sax, and Markiſ of Brandenburg ; and thre biſchoppes, Magonce, Triers, and Colen, catholikis. Baith thir factions wer put in hope that being Emperour, he wald



drink him self mery with some of his secretaires, and then to cast in the purpos of the mariage of Duc Charles with the Quen of Scotland, whither it was desyred and lyked by Maximilien or not. The said secretaire schew hym, how that he was against any sa gret preferrement to his brother, wherby he mycht becom King of Scotland and England baith; be raifoun of a mint that themperour Charles 5. maid anes, to devyde his dominions among the thre sonnes of Ferdinand his brother, failgeing aires of K. Phillip his sone; wha then had bot a sone, to wit Don Carle, feakly of complexin, whom he efterwart slew secretly in prisoun hym self, suspecting him to be of the reformed religion and having  
 p. 32. intelligence with the princes of Flanders that professit the same; and Maximilien hoped to succed to the haill, failgeing aires of the said K. Philipe, as having married the said Philips sifter, and had many children of his awen with hir, who he desyrit to be preferrit rather then his awen brother. For incaice the Archeduc Charles had bene K. of Scotland and England, he mycht the better vsurp the Law Contres, vpon the allegiance of some auld rycht.

Eftir that I vnderstod this I wald tary na langer, bot preffit daly to return towardis my L. Electour; and he again to stay me besyd him, seamed that he wuld fayn haue reteanit me in his seruice; at lenth willit me to tary bot a half year; bot humbly excusing my self, for that I wes send for to be schortly in Scotland; quhilk moued hym the mair earnestly to desyre me to tary with hym. Quhilk because I wald not grant to do, I thocht he was discontent; and a nycht lait efter supper, he parted in a boit towardis the town of Lintis, and send his secretary vnto me, excusing him that he mycht not meit with me before his parting, for he had ane necessary occasion; and seing I was to return

me; inquiring of the estait of Scotland, of ther lait troubles with France, of the agrement new maid, and sen the agrement what gret men had the gretest handling, and all the noblemens names that had assisted baith the parties; and proceadit to inquiryre of the help that England had maid vnto Scotland, during ther troubles with France; gif they wer bandit together, and gene ther frendship continowed; and of the Quenis rycht to England, and gif the nobilite of Scotland wald be glaid to set fordwart ther Quen vnto the crown of England; and gene they wald think it a weall vnto the crown of Scotland, to haue the twa contrees junit tother, supposing ther Quen or Prince wald ratheft dwell in the best contre, and wald be that way farther fra them. Thir and many vther thingis he inquiryred; to the quhilkis I anfuerit the best I culd. Then he said, it wes not the least gud office that my Lord Electour had done vnto hym, in sending me ther; and thankit me also for the panes I had tane, and said, gif Charles his brother chancit to be so happy as till obtean our Quen in mariage, that na man fuld haue mair credit with him then I; willing me to abyd with him a whyll, that he mycht discours with me at mair lenth. Sa eftir that I had taried with hym xv dayes, with fauorable and humain enter-tenement when his leafor wald permit, putting me in hope that Charles wald be schortly at hym, and tald me sic newes as cam till hym out of all contrees; specially of the death of the Duc of Guise be Poltrot at the siege of Orleans, and apperit to be glaid of the death of that vailgeant warior. I culd not juge for the tym what moued him.

Efterwart be oft conference with hym, I persauit and suspected that he wald be found ennemy to the mariage of his brother with the Quen; and to get some tryall therof, I requestit my compaignon Mons<sup>r</sup> Zuleger, to

the yong prences picture, quhilk ſche thocht meit to be done before ſche wald proceed mair publykly, for ſome raifones that ſche had for hir ; quhilk he did very deligently, and ſend me in France with the anſwer and pictour, with a congratulation of the lait maid paice.

P. 53. At my commyng to the court of France, quhilk wes at Paris for the tym, the Conſtable wald nedis be my convoy to the yong K. and Quen mother; wha had a miſlyking of the ſaid Conſtable for the tym, as having brocht in the Admyrall to Paris againſt hir will ; wha was acufit to haue promyſed reward vnto the foirſaid Poltrot for to ſley the Duc of Guiſe. The Admyrall again deſyred to com before the preuy conſaill, till purge him ſelf and to be tryed ; bot the Quen mother deſyred rather ther hattrent and contention to continow, as having layed hir plat till fyſche hir gretnes in the dromely pondes of ther ſtryf, as was manifeſtly ſean ſen ſyn. For during ther deuyſion, the Duc of Guiſe, K. of Navar, Prince of Conde, Conſtable, Marchall of St Andre, with the maiſt notable gret men of France, wer all ſlain down ; and becauſe the ſaid Admyrall eſchaipit during the warres, the paice was maid for the thrid tym ; and vnder traift, at the mariage of the yong Prince or K. of Navar, now K. of France, the ſaid Admyrall was murdrift, with all that reſted of the worthyſt noblemen and captens of France.

To return vnto the purpoſ ; the Conſtable and Admyrall wer at court at that tym againſt the Quen mothers will ; wher the Admyrall wes declairit innocent of the Duc of Guiſe ſlauchter. And at that tym the Conſtable determinit to abyd at court, and till mantean him ſelf ther in his office of Gret Maiſter, and be the autorite of his gret office of the conſtablerie, aſſiſted be the force of his frendis ; for he vnderſtod ſufficiently the Quen mothers Italien trickis. Therfore he to won credit

presented me to the yong King, and sat down vpon a ftull befyd him and the Quen his mother, and held his bonet vpon his head, taking vpon him the full autorite of his gret office ; to the Quen mothers gret mislyking, with sic impafience that fche turnt away hir faice when I wes declairen my commiffion, efter the delyuerie of my lettres of credence to the K. and hir. Quhilk the K. wes very glaid to heir, being therby put in hope that the mariage wald tak effect, and wes fa defyrus to fe the picture of that lufte yong princefs, that he cutted the thredis him felf that band on the waxit claith about the faid picture. And I in the mean tym reterit me fourth of the chamber, and was ernestly focht that after nun, bot not found vntill the Conftable and Admirall cam to ther chamber at euen. Wha requyring to wit the caufe of my retering, I remembrit the Conftable how he mycht fee the rage that the Quen mother was intill ; and how I again ftod vpon the reputation of my maifter, wha was a fre prince. Then they wer glaid, and faid that I had done weill, and fchew me how they wer the caufe ; and that fche had maid a proclamation, that na ambaffador fuld addrefs them bot vnto the K., and hir as Regent ; therefore aduyfit me to pafs the nyxt day to fee hir at denner, and that fche wald not faill to call for me, and inquyre the caufe of my abfenting before I had tald out my haill commiffion ; and instructed me what I fuld fay for anfwer. Sa fchone as hir Maiefte faw me, fche fend and defyred me to ftay ther till fche had dynet, and that fche fuld fend for the K. hir fone to com to hir chamber, to heir out the reft of my commiffion. The K. being com, the chamber wes yffched.

54. Hir Maiefte firft inquyred, why I tald not out the reft of my commiffion the day before. I anfwerit, as I was instructed, how

that it apperit to me, that for the tym fche had na will of fa many auditours, and that I fteyed vpon hir better opportunitie. Quhiik anſwer fche feamed to tak in a gud part, willing me when at any tym I mycht be ſent again, to addreſs my ſelf only to the K. and to hir, and to nane vther. To that I anſwerit, that amang all the Kingis ſaruan-dis I was beſt acquainted with the Conſtable, and therefore maid him my convoy to baith ther Maieſteis. "Na," ſaid fche, "I find na falt that ye addreſſit yow to my gud goſſup;" bot fche hatted hym deadly. Sa efter that I had endit the declaration of my haill commiſſion, firſt anent the congratulation of the paice, and excuſes of the confederat princes of thempyre for ſending help to the Prince of Conde, during the warres for the religion, with a requeſt to kepe the ſaid paice vnviolat, and till mak ſic lawes of obliuion as wer wont to do the Grekis and Romanis efter ſic ciuill diſcenciſions; and then how that my lord Electour had procedit with Maximilien, and how his anſwer was at wiſſis. All the tym that I ſpak, fche remembrit the K. to tak gud head, and ſaid he was mekle obliſt to that gud prence that tok ſic panes for his mariage, and for the weall of his affaires.

Then fche entrit with me in particulair, eſtemyng that I wald not ſpend ouer mekle tym in Dutche-land, feing that I was firſt brocht vp in the court of France; for albeit, fche ſaid, fche had anew that culd ſpeak Dutche, yet few wer ſa famylierly acquainted with the princis of thempyre, or that had ſic fauour and credit as fche vnderſtod I had, to do the K. and hir ſeruice; therfor offerit to mak me gentilman of the Kingis chamber, prouydit with ane honorable penſion, and to be aduancit till offices and honnours as gene I wer a Frencheman born; and that fche wald employ me not only in Germany, bot alſo in England and Flanders.

sa famylier with the said Quen, that he fend a gentilman Italien of his to propon that mariage, as he allegit, at the instance of the Electour Palatin. To whom the Quen gaif a generall alluring answer, defying the yong prince to com in England, eyther openly or prevely disgyfed ; and how that sche wald never mary any man till sche mycht first see him. Still I diffuadit his father to fend hym, alleging that it wald be gret chargeis to him, and get nathing bot scorn for recompence ; wherat the yong prince was sa commoved that he left the court for thre dayes. Bot the gud prince his father fend for him, and boifted him, incaice he becam not my frend. Sa we wer agreid that at this tym I suld cary with me his picture, and present it to the Quen of England in my hame passing throw England, seing that I was sa far against his gang-ing ther ; whilk I was content to do, prouyding that I mycht also haue hame with me the picture of his father, his mother, and of all the rest of his brether and sisters, together with a famylier wreting from the Electour, wherby I mycht haue the better occasion and acces to bring in the purpos of the pictures as be accident ; hoping that sche wald defyre to see them, specially the pictour of the said yong Duc.

And having obtenit my defyre, I tok my leaue and parted from Heidil-berg, wher my gud lord Electour held his court for the tim ; wha gaif me commiffion to the Quen of England, to wit, ane answer to hir demandit allyance offensyve and deffensyve with the princes protestantis of Germany ; quhilk of before was bot obscurly answerit vnto hir ambassadour Sir Hery Knollis, at the dyet imperiall halden at Franckfort the year 1562 ; excusing him self and the rest of the princes his confederatis, wha had bot new chosen Maximilien to be K. of Romaines, and coadjutor to themperour his father ; and that he had promysed vnto

to se it; and when I allegit that I had left the saidis pictures at Londoun, sche being then at Hamtoncourt ten mylles fra Londoun, and that I wes redy to pass fordward, sche said I suld not part till sche had sean the haill pictures. Sa the nyxt day I delyuerit them all vnto hir Maieste, and sche delyred to reteaen them all nycht; bot sche tok my L. Robert Dudly to be juge of the Duc Casymirs picture, and aponted me to meit hir the nyxt mornyng in hir garding; wher sche caused delyuer them all vnto me, and gaif me thankis for the sight of them. I again offerit vnto hir Maieste any of the pictures, sa sche wald let me haue the auld Electour and his lady; bot sche wald haue nane of them. I had also intelligence how first and last sche dispyfed the said Duc Casymir. Therefore I wret bak from Londoun in chiffer, to his father and him self baith, dissuading them to medle any mair in that mariage; and resautit gret thankis efterwart fra the said yong Duc, wha married incontinent the Duc August Electour of Sax his eldest dochter.

Albeit this is somthing by the purpos that I wes wreten anent the Quen our fouerain, yet it bringis me hame vntill hir Maieste, with som purpos of mariage to hir self. For the Quen of England enterit with me very famylierly, and schew me of the systerly love that was betwen hir and the Quen my fouerain; and how cairfull sche was of hir weillfare, and to se hir weall sattelit in hir awen contre with hir subiectis, and also weill married; and how that sche had in hir head twa persones to propone, any ane of the twa, for fittest husbandis vnto hir, wherby ther amytye mycht best stand and increafe; hopping that sche wald alwayes mary be hir aduyse, for hir weall; promysen vpon hir faith to wret vnto me with hir awen hand, schortly efter my hame-

commynng in Scotland, that I mycht be a gud instrument to moue the Quen my mestres till accept other the ane or the other. Albeit sche forget to wret vnto me theranent, sche send instructions vnto Mester Randolph, till propon my L. Robert Dudley as a meit husband for our Quen. I suppose that my Lord Robert Dudley, efterwart Erle of Lecester, had dissuadit hir to employ me in his mariage with the Quen my fouerane, feing that Mester Randolphe was ther alredy hir Hynes agent.

P. 57. Now the Quen my maistres, to kep promyse and correspondence with the Quen of England, had send and aduertist hir, how that the mariage with Archeduc Charles was proponit vnto hir; requyring hir frendly aduyse and consent therto.

The Quen of England answerit, be hir agent Mester Thomas Randolphe, as folowes. Efter a litle preface this he declaires, and geues in be wret, the Quen his mestres mynd.

"The Quen my fouerane," said he, "hes not only deaply aduyfed vpon the matter anent the mariage of your Maieste, bot hes also thoct it necessary now by me, to schaw yow what sche thinketh baith meit and vnmeit to be confiderit, and seamly for hir be way of frendship to declair, as a dear sifter that intendis your Maiesteis honnour, and a loving frend that is cairfull for your Graces weall.

"Thre speciall thingis hir Grace thinkis fit to be confiderit in mariage. First, the mutuell contentation betwen baith parties, in respect of ther priuat personages, sa that the loue may probabely continow, asweill before God as man.

"Secondly, that the personage may be such as your Maieste, being



a Quen of a gret realm and multitude of people, may be sure of ane vengeance allynce, be your nobilitie realm and commouns.

“Thridly, that the chuse be futch, that the amytie quhilk is now in strait betwix the Quenis Maieſte and your Hynes, not only for your awen perſonnes bot with boith your realmes, may be continuat and not defoluit nor diſminiſſit.”

Then he delaitis at lenth, how that he dows not bot hir Maieſte, wha was anes married, will conſideratly wey the match to be very meit boith for hir and hir awen ſubiectis; bot anent the thrid head, that belanges vnto the Quen his ſouerane, it meritis to be weall looked vpon.

“It is trew that the ſeaking out of a huſband to your Maieſte is honorable and expedient; a thing that hir Maieſte lykys weall of in your Grace, albeit hitherto ſhe has not found ſuch diſpoſition in hir ſelf; remitting hir hart and mynd in that behalf to be directed be almychty God.

“Bot this heirin hir Maieſte conſidereth, that to ſeak out ſuch a huſband as is weall knawen to hir, is ſocht be your Gracis frendis in themperours lineage, moſt bring a maniſeſt danger vnto the pryvat amytie betwix your Maieſties; ane apperant occaſion to deſolue the concord that is preſently betwix the twa nations; and thridly, ane interruption of ſuche a courſe as vtherwais mycht be taken, to forther or advance ſuche a tytyle as your Grace mycht haue to ſucceed vnto hir Maieſte in the crown of England, gif hir Grace ſuld depart without yſſue of hir body.”

Then he vses ſome vnfit perſuaſions and menaces; as boiſting how that ſome in England ar going about, with practyſes to ſet fordwart

ther pretendit richtis, to hir Maiesteis prejudice ; quhilk fche, be hir discret behauour and confourmitie to his mestres plesour may preuent, “ in moving hir not only to proceed in the inquisition of your G. richt, and to forther the same at hir power, bot also to hender and empesche that quhilk fall feam to the contraire.

“ And now gif your Maieste wald knaw, what kind of mariage mycht best content hir and hir realm. Such a ane as may bred na jealousy nor trouble betwix your Maiesties and your contrees, as did the mariage with the Frenche King ; bot rather it is to be wiffit, that ther mycht be found out some noble man of gret birthe within England, that mycht be agreable vnto you, with whom hir Maieste wald more  
 P. 88. redely and more easely extend and declair the gud will that hir Maieste has, to cause you enjoye before any creature any thing fche hes, nyxt hir self or childrene. Vtherwais I most planely say, that my souerane can promyse nothing agreable to the feruent desyre fche hath to do your G. gud.”

This was Maister Randolpbes first instructions and proposition vnto the Quen, anent hir mariage with the Archeduc Charles. Bot he had a secret commiffion vnto my L. of Murray, and the secretaire Liddington, to propon my Lord Robert Dudley ; and willit me also to set forward his mariage with the Quen, as metest of all vther ; as falbe declared mair amply heirefter.

Be this kynd of dealing it apperis weall, how that the Quen of England mislyked the mariage of the Quen with the Archeduc Charles ; and gaue farther declairation be sending of the Erle of Suffex to themperours court, afweill to congratulat his corownation, as indirectly to draw on the mariage between the said Charles and his maistres the

Quen of England ; and brocht that matter sa fynly about, that Charles thocht the mariage with the Quen of England meter, and was put in gret hope that it fuld tak effect. Yit it was not sa secretly handled bot our Quen was aduertist thereof, be some of hir weill willairs in England ; wherupon procedit inwart greffis and gruges between the twa Quenis ; quhilk bursted out at a litle occasion geuen be the Quen of England, in hir first famylier wreting vnto the Quen, appering thereby to geue her a frendly aduise on the auld maner ; quhilk the Quen again thocht bot a double dealing, remembring afweill vpon hir last disswading answer from the mariage of the Archedue Charles, as vpon hir practyses newly parfourmed in themperours court. The Quen of Englandis letter was wreten at the fut of some of the frendis of the house of Hammiltoun. For efter that mester Randolph had spoken, as is abone mentionat, against the mariage of the Quen with the Due Charles, and had allegit that some nobleman born within England wald be meter ; he procedit sa far, in preuy conferrence with my L. of Murray and the secretary Liddingtoun, as to say, " What wald ye think of my L. Robert Dudley for your Quen ? " And finding small accompt to be maid therof, aduertist the Quen his mestres. Wherupon occasion was tane to geue leaue vnto Mathow Erle of Lenox, wha dwelt in England for the tym, to pass in Scotland as desyrous to se the Quen, and tak ordour with some of his awen turnis ; whais eldest sone my Lord Darly was a lusty yong prince, and apperantly was ane of the twa that the Quen of England had tald me sche had in hir head till offer vnto our Quen, as born within the realm of England.

To return vnto the letter wretin be the Quen of England vnto the Quen ; sche wald appear thereby to be cairfull for the Quen hir sesters

entrit in controverfy, and lyk to tak findre courfes, for the troubles and rebellion of Flanders and the Law Contrees; eftemyng hir a fecret fterer vp of them, not without caufe; for fche thocht hir felf abandonit be the K. of Spain, at the lait paice maid at Catteau Cambrifis; and hir cheifft confaillouris thocht convenient for the eftait of England to fofter and nurife contrary factions, baith in France, Flanders, Scotland and Spayn.

At my hamecommynge in Scotland, I fand the Quenis Maiefte at Sant Jhonftoun, in the year of God 1564. the 5. day of May, and was very fauourably refaut be the Quenis Maiefte; when I prefented vnto hir Hynes, wrettingis from themperour Maximilien, the Electour Palatin, the Duc of Lorrain, the Cardinall of Lorrain, and Duc of Aumall, all in my fauours. And efter I had infourmed hir at lenth how Maximilien was againft the mariage of his brother Charles, fche vnderftanding alfo the Quen of Englandis part therintill, as is abone fpecified, fche pat the mariage with Archeduc Charles clean out of hir conceat. And wheras fche had bene myndit to fend me in Germany, now fche tok purpos to fend me in England; at what tym I was not yet refoluit to fetle my felf in Scotland, feing apperance of fmall commodite, and of greter troubles and difordour then I beleuit to find at my hamecommynge; and was laith to loife the occafions and offers of preferrement that had bene maid to me in France and vther partis. Bot the Quen

P. 60. my fouerane was fa instant, and fa weill inclynit, and fchew hir felf endewed with fa many princely vertus, that I thocht it wald be againft gud confcience to leawe hir, requyring fa ernestly my help and feruice to draw hame again ay mair and mair the hartis of hir fubiectis, that

had frayed and wer growen could during the lait troubles the quhill that fche was abfent in France, and wer junit in a gret frendfchip with England ; wherin fche had alfo gret handling for the tym, to won frendis and kepe correſpondance with that Quen. Then fche was fa effable, fa gracious and difcret, that fche wan gret eftymation, and the hartis of many baith in England and Scotland, and myn among the reft ; fa that I thocht her mair worthy to be ſeruit for litle proffet, then any vther prence in Europe for gret commodite. Then fche was naturally liberall, mair than fche had moyen ; for not only provydit fche me with a penſion of ane thowſand markis, ane part of the ſame to be tane out of hir drowry in France, bot fche wald alfo haue geuen me in heritage the landis of Auchtermouchtie befyd Facland ; quhilk I refuſed, alleging the ſame to be the nereſt part of hir propertie, quhilk fche mycht not weall want. Bot another, hearen that fche was fa weill harted, ſocht it and gat it.

This way I was vincuſt and won to tary with hir, and to leawe all vthir proffitis or preferrement in France and vther contrees, albeit that for the tym I had na vthir heritage bot my ſeruice. Sa about 2. or 3. monethes efter my hame commyng, I wes ſent to the Quen of England, with thir inſtructions folowing, out of hir Maieſteis awen mouth ; to deall with the Quen of England, with the Spanifch ambaffadour, and with my Lady Margret Douglas, and with findre frendis fche had in England of dyuers oppinions ; and generall inſtructions wreten be the ſecretaire Liddingtoun, ſubſcryuit with hir Maieſteis hand, as folowes.

“ Instructions to our famylier seruitour James Meluill, presently directed to our derrest sifter the Quen of England. At Edenbrough the 28. of September 1564.

“ In the first, efter that ye haue presented our lettres, and maid our commendations in maist hartly maner, ye fall declair vnto our gud sifter, that having bene in our progres towardis the nourthemest parties of our realm thir tua monethes, during the quhilk tym we haue had nether lettres nor vthir aduertisment from our said gud sifter, for continuation of the mutuall intelligence betuix us be all gud offices of amytie, we tok purpos to direct yow towardis hir, to vesit hir vpon our behalf, to lat hir knaw our health and gud estait, and also at your return, be able to report the lyk of hir vnto us ; being the persoun in the world to whom nyxt our self, we wisis maist gud luk and prosperite.

“ Item, that by lettres of my Lord Robert to Liddingtoun, as also of her secretery to our brother of Murray, and siclyk to Liddingtoun, we haue persauit that our said gud sifter findis some falt with our lettres, wreten to hir for answer of hers in the Earle of Lenox matter, as gif we had taken her motion therein in euell part. We are maist fory that our lettres hes bene sa interpreted, sa far as concernis to our meanyng. For of treuth we had na vthir oppinion of hir in that matter, bot that hir aduertisment cam from a frendly mynd, and was baith worthy of thankis, and to be answerit with the lyk gud will ; as we beleue we did in our lettre, albeit we remember not presently the very wordis or substance therof. For we vse not to referue any copie of our famylier lettres wreten with our awen hand, quhilk now we repent of that lettre ; for gene we had ane copie of it, we mycht now clear our self of

that dout, what wordes they wer therin mycht any wise seem to tend to hir offence. Therefore ye fall prey hir in our name, to let you see  
P. 61. in her letter what wordis they ar wherof sche conceaues offence; that ye declaring thereupon my part and manyng, may put hir out of any sic suspition. Treuth it is, at the resait of the letter we wer not a little offendit, and thocht we had gud cause. It apperit no les then that our nobilite wes so greuit with our liscence granted to the Erle of Lenox, that his commyng wes lyk to disturb the quyetnes of our realm. Our brother of Murray and Liddingtoun schew vnto vs, that they perceaued by her secreтарыs lettres, that they wer also thocht as parties in this matter; and that they mislyking also his commyng, defyred the stay therof to be procured by tha indicent meanis, wherof they protestit vnto us the plat contraire. And indeid we haue better proif of ther fidelite towardis ws, then that we can suspect any sic double dealing in ther handis, they being sa far obliſt vnto vs, and sa neir about ws. We thocht vs litle addetted vnto that persone, whom-foeuer he wes, maid sic report of our subiectis, that they wald mak ther doleancis till any vther then our self; specially in a matter wherein no man culd be tuiched to his displeasour.

“ Thir and the lyk confiderations mouit vs to a gret choler; quhillk mycht haue bene occasion that we wret the more frelye, and wes not curious to couer our passions; wreting to hir with whom we esteam vs sa famylier, that sche wald tak all in gud part that procedis from vs; specially that tendis not to hir offence, as trewly never word of that lettre was menit by vs. Therefore ye fall prey hir to put away all sic oppinions, gif sche has conceaut any; and gif ther be any word in our letter hauyng twa fences, by myſconſtruyng or taking in

the worst part may geue hir occasion of offence, that sche will rather interpret the same to the gentillest signification, and not cryminallie; and then I dout not bot the haill letter fall appeir to hir, as it wes by vs conceaut and directed; that is, from a dear frend to another.

“ Farder of our mynd ye haue conceaut, by that we haid said vnto you be mouth; quhilk ye mon enlarge as occasion requyres.

“ Ye may weall, be any vther talk that sche fall minifter vnto you, answer conform to the substance of Liddingtons lettres, wreten to my L. Robert and Mester Cicill, to draw on specially another meting of men of credit, fullie instructed with baith our myndis; and to deall fa planly and franckly as all fuspitions, driftis and eyleftis may haue ane end.

“ Ye mon also inquyre diligently of the parlement, at all them that can geue you knowlege therof; for what cause it is callit, what is to be treited in it, how lang it will last; and gif ye may learn any thing to be handled therin tueching vs, ye fall say as of your awen head, that your mestres will not beleue that sche will suffer any thing to be trait-ed therin, that may directly or indirectly tend to our prejudice, we not being by hir foirwarnit therof. Sche knawes that asweill our self as our ministers, whom we haue at any tym directed in tha partis, hes euer dependit vpon hir only aduysé, and folowed the samyn in all pointis; and that sen it was the speciall matter that was moued in the begynnyng of the last parlement, the establisshing of the succeffoun, and lyk enough the subiectis will yet be earnest to be at ane certantie in that point; gif sche omitis fa gud ane occasion to do something for vs, wherby the world may vnderstand that sche vles vs and esteemes vs as hir nyxt cusing and only sifter, the world will think that hir amytye is



not fa gret as we tuk it to be ; and them that envyes our familiarite, and wald haue it broken, will conceaue matter to ſpeak that the frendſchip is rather in wordis then in effect.

“ MARIE R.”

P. 62. Being arriuit at Londoun, I tok loging neir the court, quhilk was at Weſtmefter. Incontinent my hoſt aduertift of my commyng, and that ſame nycht hir Maieſte ſent Maifter Lattoun, now gouernour of the Yll of Weicht, to welcom me in hir name, and to ſchaw me that the nyxt mornyng ſche ſuld be in hir garding be aucht houres, to geue me audience ; for ſche wes aduertift from the Erle of Bedford, gouernour of Berwik, that I was be the way. That ſame nycht, Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, ane of my auld and dereſt frendis be lang acquaintance, firſt during his baniſſement in France in the regne of Quen Marie, and efterwart being ambaffadour in France for this Quen, wher I was for the tym yet very yong, penſioner to the King Henry II., and ſaruant to the conſtable his cheif conſaillour : This Sir Nycholas was not only my dear frend, wha had procured a penſion for me fra his meſtres, to help to enterteny me, (when I was willingly baniſſit from the court of France, ſa lang as ther wes ciuill warres between France and Scotland, during the quhilk tym I remanit in Germany :) The ſaid Sir Nycholas being for the tym at court, cam and ſouped with me that ſame nycht ; wha was alſo a deuot frend to the Quen my meſtres, and to hir richt and title to the ſucceſſion of the crown of England. Be him I had ample and famylier infourmation, and ſur intelligence and frendly aduiſe, how to proceed with the Quen and euery courteour in particulier ; for he wes a gret instrument to

help my L. of Murray and secretary Liddingtoun, to pak vp the first frendship and correspondance between the twa Quenis, and between the Erle of Murray and my L. Robert, and between the twa secretaires. Albeit he had na lyking for the tym, nother of my L. Robert, nor of Meister Cicill, yet he knew that then nathing culd be done without them. Amang vther thingis, he gaif me aduysse to vse gret famy-larite with the ambassadour of Spain, in caice I fand the Quen his maistres our hard and difficill; alleging that it wald be a gret spure to moue the Quen of England, to geue our Quen a greter contentement in hir desyres then sche had yet done.

The nyxt mornyng, Maister Lattoun and Meister Randolphe, lait agent for the Quen of England in Scotland, cam to my loging to con- voy me to hir Maieste, wha wes as they said alredy in the garding; and with them a seruand of my L. Robertis, with a horse and futman- till of veluet passemented with gold, for me to ryd vpon; quhilk ser- uand with the said horse awaited vpon me all the tym that I remanit ther. I fand her Maieste spacing in ane alley; wher efter that I had kiffit hir hand, and presented my letter of credence, I tald her Maieste in Frenche the effect of my commiffion, as neir to the forsaide instruc- tions as I culd; and sometymes being interrupted be hir demandis, I answerit accordingly. The cause why I spak Frence was, that I wes bot laitly com hame, and culd not as yet speak my awen langage fa redely. Hir first demand was anent the lettre that the Quen had wreten, with sic dispytfull langage vnto her, that sche beleuit all frendship and famyliarite had bene geuen vp; quhilk wes cause that sche myndit never to wret again bot another as dispytfull, quhilk sche tok out of hir poutch, for sche had it alredy wreten, to let me see;

“ Madame la royne vostre fueure se recommande tres affectueusement a vostre bonne grace, et m’a commande de vous dire qu’elle a estimé ces deux moys passés plus qu’un an, pource que durant icelles elle n’a rien entendu de vostre Maïeste, pour tousiours continuer l’amytie et bonne intelligence entre vous deux comme au parauant. Pourtant elle delibera me despescher vers vostre Maïeste, tant pour vous visiter de sa parte, et de vous faire entendre de sa sante et bonne prosperite, comme aussy a mon retour de pouvoir faire le semblable raport de vostre Maïeste, comme de la personne de ce monde alaquelle, apres soy mesmes, elle souhait plus de felicite et prosperite.

“ Sa Maïeste m’a aussy commande de vous declairer, que par quelques lettres de Monsieur le Grand a Liddingtoun, elle a peu comprendre que vostre Maïeste a trouue quelque chose a reprendre dans la lettre quelle vous a escrit, pour responce a la vostre touchant l’affaire du Conte de Lenox, comme s’elle eut prins vostre admonition en mauuais parte. Sa Maïeste fera bien dolent de tendre que ses lettres aurront estees interpretees sy contraires a son intention, voyant quelle ne print autre conception de laduyse de vostre Maïeste pour lors que comme procedant dune amyable volunte, incitant sa Maïeste pluystost a vous remercier et respondre gratieusement, comme elle pense auoir fait, que de monstrier aucun sing de mescontentement ; sa Maïeste ne pouvant soy resouuenir de toutes les termes de sadite lettre, pource quelle nest accoustume de garder aucune copie des lettres quelle escrit famylierement de sa propre main, dequoy elle se repent tresbien a present.”  
Being procedit this far s’che stayed me, and tok out the lettres abone specified, to schew me as said is.

Now the auld frendship being renewed, s’che inquyred gene the

till I had seane him maid Erle of Leycester, and Barron of Denbich, with gret solemnite at Westmester; hir self helping to put on his ceremoniall, he fitting vpon his knees before hir, keping a gret grauite and discret behauour; bot fche culd not refrain from putting hir hand in his nek to kittle him smylyngly, the Frenche ambassadour and I standing befyd hir. Then fche asked at me how I lyked of him. I said, as he was a worthy subiect, he was happy that had rencontrit a princes that culd dicern and reward gud seruice. "Yet," fche said, "ye lyk better of yonder lang lad;" pointing towardis my Lord Darley, wha as nereft prince of the bluid bure the fwerd of honour that day before hir. My answer again wes, that na woman of sprit wald mak choise of sic a man, that was lyker a woman than a man; for he wes very lusty, berdles and lady facit. I had na will that fche shuld think that I lyked of him, or had any ey or deling that way; albeit I had a secret charge to deall with his mother my Lady Lenox, to purches leawe for him to pass in Scotland, wher his father was alrede, that he mycht se the contre, and convoy the Erle his father bak again to England.

Now the said Quen was determinit to trait with the Quen my souerane, first anent hir mariage with the Erle of Leycester, and for that effect promysed to send commiffioners vnto the borders. In the meantym, I was fauorably and famylierly vsed; for during nyn dayes that I remanit at that court, hir Maieste plesit to confer with me euery day, and somtymes thrys vpon a day, to wit a foir nun, efter nun and efter supper. Sometymes fche wald say, that sen fche culd not meit with the Quen her gud sifter hir self, to confer familierly with hir, that fche shuld open a gud part of hir inwart mynd vnto me, that I mycht

schaw it again vnto the Quen; and said that sche was not so offendit at the Quenis angry lettre, as for that sche feared to disdain so far the mariage with my L. of Leycister, quhilk sche had caused Mester Randolphe propon vnto hir. I said that it mycht be he had tuchit something therof to my L. of Murrey and Liddington, bot that he had not proponit the matter directly vnto hirself; and that asweill hir Maieste, as they that wer hir maist famylier consellouris, culd conjectour na thing thervpon bot delayes and drifting of tyme, anent the declaring of hir to be second persoun; quhilk wald try at the meating of the commissiouners abone specified. Sche said again, that the tryall and declairation therof wald be haisted fordwart, according to the Quenis gud behauoir, and applying to hir pleasour and aduys in hir mariage; and seing the matter concernyng the said declairation wes so weichty, sche had ordonit some of the best lawers in England, diligently to search out wha had the best ryght; quhilk sche wald wis fult be hir dear sifter rather than any vther. I said I was assured that hir Maieste wes baith out of dout therof, and wald rather sche fult be declairit than any vther; bot I lamented that euen the wyfdest princes will not skance sufficiently vpon the parcialites and pretences of some of ther famylier consellouris and seruandis; except it wer sic a notable and rare prince as K. Hary the 8., hir Maiesteis father of gud memore, wha of his awen head was determinit to declair his sifter sone K. James the 5., (at what tyme hir Maieste was not yet born, bot only hir sifter Quen Mary,) hayr apparant to the crown of England, failgeing the aires gottin of his awen body, for the earnest desyre he had till vnto this haill ylland. Sche said, sche was glaid he did it not. I said that then he had bot a dochter, and was in dout to haue any ma children, and yet had not so many suspitions in

his head ; and that hir Maieſte wes out of all dout euer till haue any childrene, as being deliberat to dy a virgen. Sche ſaid that ſche was never myndit to mary, except ſche wer compellit be the Quen hir fiſters hard behauour towardis hir, in doing by hir conſaill as ſaid is. I ſaid, “ Madam, ye ned not to tell me that ; I know your ſtaitly ſtomak : Ye think gene ye wer married, ye wald be bot Quen of England, and now ye ar King and Quen baith ; ye may not ſuffer a commander.”

Sche apperit to be ſa effectionit to the Quen hir gud fiſter, that ſche had a gret deſyre to ſe hir ; and becauſe ther deſyred meting culd not be ſa haiftely brocht till paſs, ſche delyted oft to luk vpon hir picture, and tok me in to hir bed chamber, and oppenit a litle lettoun wherin wer dyuers litle pictures wrapped within paiper, and wreten vpon the paiper, ther names with hir awen hand. Vpon the firſt that ſche tok vp was wreten, “ My lordis picture.” I held the candell and preſſit to ſe my lordis picture. Albeit ſche was laith to let me ſe it, at lenth I be importunite obteanit the ſicht therof, and aſkit the ſame to cary hame with me vnto the Quen ; quhilk ſche refuſed, alleging ſche had bot that ane of his. I ſaid again, that ſche had the principall ; for he was at the fartheſt part of the chamber ſpeaking with the ſecretary Cicill. Then ſche tok out the Quenis picture and kiſſit it ;  
 P. 66. and I kiſſit hir hand, for the gret loue I ſaw ſche bure to the Quen. Sche ſchew me alſo a fair ruby, gret lyk a racket ball. Then I deſyred that ſche wald eyther ſend it as a token vnto the Quen, or elis my Lord of Leceſters picture. Sche ſaid, gene the Quen wald folow hir conſaill, that ſche wald get them baith with tyme, and all that ſche had ; bot ſuld ſend hir a dyamont for a token with me. Now it was lait efter ſupper ; ſche appointed me to be at hir the nyxt mornyng be

8. heures, at quhilk tym ſche vſed to walk in hir garden ; and inquiryed fundre things at me of this contre, or vther contrees wherin I had laity trauelit ; and cauſed me to eat with hir dame of honour, my lady Stafford, ane honorable and godly lady, wha had bene at Geneva, baniſſit during the regne of Quen Mary, that I mycht be alwayes neir hir Maieſte, that ſche mycht conferr with me ; and my lady Staffordis dochter was my meſtres, for I was of ther acquaintance when they paſſit throw France, and had gud intelligence be hir and be my lady Throgmortoun.

At dyuers metingis ther wald be dyuers purpoſes ; and the Quen my ſouerane had inſtructed me ſomtymes to leau matters of grauite, and caſt in ſome purpoſes of mirrines, or elis I wald be tyred vpon, as being weill infourmed of hir ſiſters naturell. Therfore in declaring the cuſtomes of Dutchland, Polle and Italy, the buſking and clothing of the dames and wemen was not forget, and what contrey weid was beſt ſetten for gentilwemen to wair. The Quen of England ſaid ſche had of dyuers fortis ; quhilkis euery day ſa lang as I was ther ſche chengit ; ane day the Engliſch weid, ane the Frenche, and ane the Ytalien, and ſa of others ; aſking at me quhilk of them ſet hir beſt. I ſaid the Italien weid ; quhilk pleſit hir weill, for ſche delyted to ſchaw her golden coloured hair, wairing a kell and bonet as they do in Italy. Hir hair was reder then gellow, curlit apparantly of nature. Then ſche entrit to dicern what kynd of coulour of hair was reputed beſt ; and inquiryed whither the Quenis or hirs was beſt, and quhilk of them twa was faireſt. I ſaid, the fairnes of them baith was not ther worſt faltes. Bot ſche was ernest with me to declare quhilk of them I thoct faireſt. I ſaid, ſche was the faireſt Quen in England, and ours

the fairest Quen in Scotland. Yet sche was ernesft. I said, they wer baith the fairest ladyes of ther courtes, and that the Quen of England was whytter, bot our Quen was very lusome. Sche inquyred quhilk of them was of hyest stature. I said, our Quen. Then sche said, the Quen was ouer heych, and that hir self was nother ouer hich nor ouer laich. Then sche askit what kynd of exercyses sche vsed. I said, that I was dispatchit out of Scotland, that the Quen was bot new com bak from the hyland hunting; and when sche had leaser fra the affaires of hir contre, sche red vpon gud bukis, the histories of dyuers contrees, and somtymes wald play vpon lut and virginelis. Sche speirit gene sche plaid weill. I said, raifonably for a Quen.

That same day efter dener, my L. of Hundfden drew me vp till a quyet gallerie that I mycht heir some musik, bot he said he durft not advow it, wher I mycht heir the Quen play vpon the virginelis. Bot efter I had harkenit a whyll, I tok by the tapisserie that hang before the dur of the chamber, and feing hir bak was toward the dur, I entrit within the chamber and stod still at the dur chek, and hard hir play excellently weill; bot sche left aff sa schone as sche turnit hir about and saw me, and cam forwartis femyng to ftryk me with hir left hand, and to think schame; alleging that sche vsed not to play before men, bot when sche was solitary hir allaine, till eschew melancholy; and askit how I cam ther. I said, as I was walken with my L. of Hundfden, as we past by the chamber dur, I hard sic melodie, quhilk rauyft and drew me within the chamber I wift not how; excufing my falt of hamelynes, as being brocht vp in the court of France, and was now willing to suffer what kynd of puniffement wald pleife hir lay vpon me for my offence. Then sche sat down laich vpon a



kuffchen, and I vpon my knee befyd hir; bot fche gaif me a kuffchen with hir awen hand to lay vnder my kne, quhilk I refused, bot fche compellit me; and callit for my lady Stafford out of the nyxt chamber, for fche was hir allain ther. Then fche asked whither the Quen or fche played beft. In that I gaif hir the prayfe. Sche faid my Frenche was gud; and fperit gif I culd fpeak Italen, quhilk fche fpak raifonable weill. I faid, I taried not abone tua monethes in Italy, and had brocht with me fome bukis to reid vpon; bot had na leafer to learn the langage perfytly. Then fche fpak to me in Dutche, bot it was not gud; and wald wit what kynd of bukis I lyked beft, whither of theologie, hiftory, or loue matters. I faid, I lyked weill of all the fortis.

I was ernest to be difpetfchit; bot fche faid that I tyred fchoner of hir company nor fche did of myn. I faid, albeit I had na occafion ty tyre, that it was tyme to retourn; bot I was ftayed twa dayes langer till I mycht fe hir dance, as I was infourmed; quhilk being done, fche inquyred at me whither fche or the Quen dancit beft. I faid, the Quen dancit not fa hich and difpofedly as fche did. Then again fche wiffit that fche mycht fe the Quen, at fome convenient place of meat- ing. I offerit to convoy hir secretly in Scotland be poift, clothed lyk a paige difgyfed, that fche mycht fe the Quen; as K. James the 5. pait in France difgyfed, with his awen ambaffadour, to fe the Duc of Vendomes fifter that fuld haue bene his wyf; and how that hir chamber fuld be kepit as thoch fche wer feak, in the mean tyme, and nane to be preuy therto bot my lady Stafford, and ane of the grumes of hir chamber. Sche faid, Alace! gene fche mycht do it; and feamed to lyk weill of fic kynd of langage, and vfed all the meanis fche culd to caufe me perfuad the Quen of the gret loue that fche bure vnto hir, and was

myndit to put away all gealusies and suspitions, and in tymes comyng a straiter frendship to stand betwen them then euer had bene of before ; and promysed that my dispatche fuld be delyuerit vnto me very schortly, be Mester Cicill at Londoun. For now sche was past till Hamton court, wher sche gaif me my answer be mouth hir self, and hir secretery be wret.

The nyxt day my L. of Leycifter desyred me to sail in his barge down the watter of Tames to Londoun, quhilk wes ten myles from Hamtoncourt. He had in his company, his gud brother Sir Harry Sidney deputy of Yreland. Be the way my said L. entrit with me familiarly, alleging that he wes weill acquainted with my L. of Murray, Liddingtoun and my brother Sir Robert ; and that he was also fa weill acquainted with me be report, that he durst be sa hamly as to requyre, that I wald schaw him what the Quen my mestres thocht of of him, and of the mariage that Mester Randolphe had proponit. Wherunto I answerit very cauldly, as I was be the Quen commandit. Then he began to purge himself of sa proud a pretence as to mary sa gret a Quen, estemyng him self not worthy to deicht hir schone ; alleging the invention of that proposition to haue procedit of Mester Cicill his secret ennemy. " For gif I fuld," said he, " haue seamed to desyre that mariage, I fuld haue tint the fauour of baith the Quenis ;" preing me till excuse him vnto the Quen, that it wald please hir Maieste not to imput vnto him that lourd falt, bot vnto the malice of his ennemys.

Landing at Londoun, our denner was prepared be the Erle of Penburg ; wha being gret maister, yet humbled him sa far as to serue the said table, as mester household him self ; and schew him self to be a

deuot frend to the Quene anent hir title. That efter denner, I tok my leawe at the Frenche ambassadour, with dyuer aduertifmentis from him, and from the Spanifch ambassadour. My L. of Leycester fend also wretingis with me to my L. of Murray, till excufe him at the Quenis hand.

The day apponted, I gat my despatche fra secretary Cicill, together with a lettre of credit and a mair ample declaration of the Quenis mynd, tueching the same anfwers that sche had maid vnto me hir self. He gaif me also a wreting to the secretary Liddingtoun; for as I haue said, my L. of Lecifter, and he my Lord of Murray and the secretary Liddingtoun, reuled baith the Quenis, and kepit correspondance together as yet.

When I tok my leawe, the secretary Cicill convoyed me throw the clofe to the vtter get of his palice, sa I may call it, efter he had put a faire cheigne about my nek hym self. My Lady Lenox and Sir Nycholas Throgmorton fend many gud aduyces to the Quen, to be folowed fourth according to the tym and occasions. My Lady Lenox fend also takens to the Quen, a ring with a fair dyemont; ane emeraud to my L. hir husband, wha was yet in Scotland; a dyamont to my L. of Murray; ane orlege or montre fet with dyamontis and rubis, to the secretary Liddingtoun; a ring with a ruby to my brother Sir Robert; for sche was still in gud hope, that hir sone my Lord Darley fuld com better speid then the Erle of Leycester, anent the mariage with the Quen. Sche was a very wyse and discret matroun, and had many fauorers in England for the tym.

At my hamecommynge, I fand the Quenis Maieste still in Edinbrough; to whom I declaired the maner of my proceeding with the Quen of

England, and hir answer to the speciall headis of my instructions in wret.

Hir Maieſte answerit to the first; That wheras the Quen thocht the tym very lang ſen ſche reſauit other word or wret fra hir, wherby ſche mycht vnderſtand of her gud eſtair, and had ſend me ther to veſit hir in hir behalf; That ſche thocht the tym aſlang, albeit ſche had conceaued ſome greif anent the angry lettre; quhilk was the greter, in reſpect it apperit that ſche diſdanit the offer of the beſt gud ſche had till geue, to wit the man whom ſche eſtemed as hir brother. And wheras ſche had ſend me to veſit hir, ſche was mair content with my commyng then ſche wald haue bene of any vther; being of hir gud acquaintance, with whom ſche mycht famylierly declair hir inwart mynd vnto the Quen my maiſtres, feing ſche culd not meit with hir  
P. 69. (ſa ſchon as ſche deſyrit) hir ſelf; as I mycht declaire, how famylierly ſche had conferrit with me all hir inwart greifis and deſyres, and how weill ſche was ſatiſfied, and how willing till continow all gud offices of amytie; and fuld for that effect ſend ſchortly down to the borders, commiſſioners that wer named be hir ſelf, to meit with my L. of Murray and Liddingtoun.

As for the Parlement, it wes yet in dout whither it held or not. Gene it held, the Quen fuld get na hurt in hir richt, nother directly nor indirectly, bot fuld be alwayes fairwarnit in dew tym.

Then I ſchew hir Maieſte at lenth, of all vther purpoſes that fell out be occaſion betwen hir and me; togither with the oppinions and aduertifiſmentis of dyuers of hir frendis in England, aſweill catholikis as proteſtantis; and from the ambaffadour of Spain, of the K. his maſters gud will towardis hir Maieſte; and lyk wayes of Don Carle the

prince, albeit that he was for the tyme in some suspition with his father ; wherby the purpose of mariage wald apperantly tak some delay, vntill matters mycht fram better betwen the father and the sonne ; assuring hir Maieste of his awen perticulair seruice and futherance at his power, and fuld from tyme to tyme mak hir intelligence.

Hir Maieste was very glaid that matters wer brocht again in sa gud termes, as that famylier dealing mycht continew betwen hir and the Quen of England ; wherby sche mycht haue acces to get intelligence fra a gret nomber of noble men and vthers, hir frendis and factioners in England ; and because sche fearit also to get the wyet of ther discord, gif it had continowed.

Efter that hir Maieste had vnderstand at gret lenth, all my handling and proceadingis in England, sche inquyrit whither I thocht that Quen menit trewly towardis hir asweill inwarty in hir hart, as sche apperit to do outwardly be hir speach. I said, in my judgement, that ther was nather plain dealing nor vprycht manyng, bot gret dissimulation, emulation, and fear that hir princely qualites fuld ouer schone, chaife hir out, and displace hir from the kingdome ; as having alrede hendrit hir mariage with the Archeduc Charles of Austria, and now offering vnto hir my L. of Leycester, whom sche wald be laith as then to want. Then the Quen gaif me hir hand, that sche fuld never mary the said new maid erle ; albeit schortly whyll efter, my L. of Murray and Bedford met besyd Berwik to trait vpon the mariage with Leycester, with slenderer offers and les effectuell dealing then was loked for. Bot the said Erle of Leycester had wreten sa discret and wyse lettres vnto my L. of Murray, for his excuses, that the Quen apperit to haue sa gud lyking of him, as that the Quen of England began to fear and suspect that the said mariage

mycht perchance tak effect. And therefore my L. Darley obteanit the rather licence to com in Scotland, wha was a lusty youth, in hope that he fuld preuail being present, before Leycester that was absent. Quhilk licence was obteanit be the meanis of the secretery Cicill; not that he was myndit that any of the mariages fuld tak effect, bot with sic schiftis and pratikes to hald the Quen on married sa lang as he culd. For he persuadit him self, that my L. Darley durst not pass fordward without the consent of the Quen of England to the said marriage; his land lying in England, and his mother remanyng ther. Sa he thocht it lay in the Quen his mistres awen hand, to let the marriage go fordward, or to stey the same at hir plesour; and incaice my L. Darley wald disobey the Quen of Englandis charge, to com bak at hir ca, intendit to forfault him, wherby he fuld lois all his landis richtis and titles that he had in England.

- P. 70. The Quenis Maieste, as I haue said, efter hir returnyng out of France to Scotland, behaued hir self sa princely, sa honorably and discretly, that hir reputation spred in all contrees; and was determynit and also inclynit to continow in that kynd of comelynes, vnto the end of hir lyf; defyring to hald nane in hir company bot sic as wer of the best qualitez and conuersation, abhorring all vices and vitious personnes, whither they wer men or women; and requested me to assist hir in geuyng hir my gud counsaill, how sche mycht vse the meatest meanis till aduance hir honest intention; and incaice sche, being yet yong, mycht forget hir self in any vnseamly gestour or misbehauour, that I wald warn hir therof, with my admonition to forbear and reform the sam. Quhilk commissioun I refused altogether, saying that hir verteous actions, hir naturell iugement, and gret experience sche had learnit in the company

gud mucitien ; and hir Maieſte had thre varletis of hir chamber that ſang thre partis, and wanted a beils to ſing the fourt part ; therfor they tald hir Maieſte of this man to be ther fourt marrow, in ſort that he was drawn in to ſing ſomtymes with the reſt ; and eftirwart when the ambaffadour his maiſter retournit, he ſtayed in this contre, and wes retiret in hir Maieſtes ſeruice as ane varlet of hir chamber. And efterwart when hir French ſecretary retired him ſelf till France, this Dauid obtenit the ſaid office, and therby entrit in greter credit, and occupied

P. 71. hir Maieſteis ear of tymes in preſens of the nobilite, and when ther was greteſt conventions of the eſtatis ; quhilk maid hym to be ſa invyed and hatted, cheifly when he grew ſa gret that he preſented all ſignatours to be ſubſcryuit be hir Maieſte, that ſome of the nobilite wald glowm vpon him, and ſome of them wald ſchulder him and ſchut hym by, when they entrit in the chamber, and fand him alwais ſpeaking with hir Maieſte. And ſome again that had hard turnis to be helpit, new infeſtmentis to be tane, or that deſyred to preuail againſt ther ennemys in court or ſeſſion, addreſſit them vnto him, and dependit vpon hym ; wherby in ſchort tym he becam very rich. Not without ſome fear, therefore, he lamented his eſtait vnto me, and aſkit my conſaill, how to behaue hym ſelf. I tald him, that ſtrangers wer commonly envyed when they medlit ouer far in the affaires of forren contrees. He ſaid, he being ſecretary to hir Maieſte in the Frenche tung, had occaſion therby till occupy hir Maieſteis ear, as hir formair ſecretary vſed to do. I ſaid again, that it wes thoct that the maiſt part of the affaires of the contre paſt throw his handis ; and aduyſit him, when the nobilite wer preſent, to gif them place, and prey the Quenis Maieſte to be content therwith ; and ſchew him, for ane example, how I

gers, and transportit leicht perſones, wald bring them in a mair deuti-  
full reuerence to hir honour, and the contentement of hir ſubiectis.  
Sche thankit me for my continuell cair, and promyſed to tak ſic gud  
ordour ther intill as the cauſe requyred.

- P. 72. I haue ſaid alreedy, how that my Lord Darley was aduyſed to ſut  
liſcence to com in Scotland ; wha at his firſt commyng fand the Quen  
in the Wemes, makand hir progrefs throw Fyfe. Hir Maieſte tok weill  
with him, and ſaid that he was the luſtieſt and beſt proportionit lang  
man that ſche had ſean ; for he was of a heich ſtature, lang and ſmall,  
euen and brent vp ; weill inſtructed from his youth in all honeſt and  
comely exercyſes. And eftir he had hanted a quhill in court, he pro-  
ponit mariage to hir Maieſte ; quhilk ſche tok in ane euell part at the  
firſt, as ſche tald me that ſame day hir ſelf ; and how ſche had refuſed  
the ring quhilk he then offerit vnto hir. Wher I tok occaſion, as I had  
begun, to ſpeak in his fauour, that ther mariage wald put out of dout  
ther title to the ſucceſſion. I can not tell how he fell in acquaintance  
with ſeignieur Dauid, bot he alſo was his gret frend at the Quenis  
hand ; ſa that hir Maieſte tok ay the langer the better lyking of him,  
and at lenth determinit to mary him. Quhilk being knawen vnto the  
Quen of England, ſche ſend and chargit him to return ; and alſo ſend  
hir ambaffadour Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun in Scotland, baith to dif-  
fuad the Quen to mary him, and incaice the Quen wald not folow hir  
advyſe in hir mariage, to perſwad the lordis and ſa many as wer of  
hir religion, to withſtand the ſaid mariage, onles the ſaid Lord Darley  
wald promiſe and ſubſcryve to abyd at the religion reſourmed, quhilk  
ha had planly profeſſit in England. The Quen again perſauing the  
Quen of Englandis ernest opoſition till all the mariages that wer of-



ferit vnto hir, thocht not meit to delay any langer hir mariage. Bot my L. Duc of Chattelerault, my Lordis of Argyll, Murrey, Glencarn, Rothés, and dyuers vthers lordis and barrons, withstod the said mariage ; wha efter that they had maid a mynt to tak the Lord Darley, in the Quenis company, at the raid of Baith, and to haue fend him in England as they allegit, I wot not what was in ther mynd, bot it was ane euel fauorit enterpryse, wherintill the Quen was in danger other of keping, or hart breking ; and as they that had failed of ther fulishe enterpryse, tok on planly ther armes of rebellion. Hir Maieste again conuenit forces till persew them, and chacit them heir and ther, till at lenth they wer compellit to fle in England for refuge, to hir that had promysed be hir ambassadours to wair hir crown in ther defence, incaice they wer dryuen till any strait for ther opposition vnto the said mariage. Quhilk was all denyed at ther commyng to seek help ; and when they fend vp my L. of Murray to that Quen, the rest abyding at Newcastle, he culd obtean nathing but disdain and scorn ; till at lenth he, and the Abbot of Kilwynning his compaignon in that messlage, wer perswadit to com and confes vnto the Quen vpon ther knees, and that in presens of the ambassadours of France and Spain, that hir Maieste had neuer moued them to that opposition and resistance against ther Quenis mariage. For this sche had desyred, to satisfie the saidis ambassadours, wha baith allegit in ther maisters names, that sche was cause of the said rebellion, and that hir only delyt was to steir vp discention amang all hir nybours, not without cause ; yet in this allegiance sche ouer cam them ; for sche handlit the matter sa subtilie, and

P. 73. the vther twa sa blaitly, in granting vnsuthfastly hir desyre, vpon hir faire promyse, that sche triumphed ouer the saidis ambassadours, for

ther allegence. Bot vnto my L. of Murray and his marrow sche said, " Now ye haue tald the treuth ; for I nor nane in my name fterit you vp againft your Quen ; for your abominable trefoun mycht ferue for exemple, to moue my awen fubiectis to rebell againft me. Therefore pak you out of my prefens ; ye ar bot vnworthy traitours." This was all ther meritorious reward ; and wer not the mair moyen was maid be some in England that pitied them, they had not bene fufferit to remain within hir dominions during ther baniffement. Howbeit sche had promysed of new again to affift and help them to the vttermaift of hir power, with condition that they wald pleife hir fa far as to fit doun vpon ther knees, in prefens of the faidis ambaffadours, and mak the foirfaid fals confeffion. As for fecret help, sche maid them nane ; only they obteanit a fmall contribution of a thre thowfand poundis Scotis, amang fome of ther awen religion ther, wha had born them gud will of before ; quhilk wes diftribut amang the reft of the baniffit lordis, wher they remanit altogether at Newcaftell, comfortles and in gret milèrie.

I haue declairit, that afweill the confell of Englandis courtly dealing, fhifting and drifting, be ftaying the Quen fa far as they mycht fra marieing with any man, far or neir, gret or fmall, caufed the Quen to haift furdwart hir mariage with my L. Darley ; quhilk was folemnffuit in the pulice of Halvrodhoufe, within the Quenis chapell, at the mefs ; wheriu feigneur Dauid was na fmall instrument, as faid is.

Then Scotland being almairt hailely at the reformed religion, tok a dithking of the K. becaufe, as was allegit, he had planly profeffit the same religion before in England. Then inventions and bruits wer raifed, how that the faid feigneur Dauid had a penfion of the Paip ;

at gud seruice heir at hame as any that seruit hir, gif I pleist ; bot that I had left af to tell hir my oppinion anent hir proceedingis. I said, that I fearit that my oppinionis mycht chance to be vnplaissant vnto hir Maieste ; bot sche affirmed the contrair, and said that I had enenys that did what they culd to put me in suspition with the K., as being a fauorer of my L. of Murrey ; quhilk sche had put out of the Kingis head, as being better acquainted with my natur and conditions ; saying that sche knew weill that I had a lyking of my L. of Murrey, bot not of his maner of doing, and that sche was assured that I loued hir ten tymes better nor hym ; and said mair ouer, that gif asmeikle euell wer spoken of hir to me, as was of me till hir, that sche wald wils that I fuld geue them na mair credit against hir, then sche did or fuld do against me ; and gaif me hir counsaill to await vpon the King, wha was bot yet yong, and to geue him and hir my gud aduise, as I was wont to do, that mycht help hir till eschew all apperant inconvenientis ; and gaif me hir hand, that sche fuld tak all in a gud part what euer I spak, as proceeding of a loving and faithfull seruand ; willing me also to be frend vnto seigneur Dauid, wha was haited without cause. The K. also tald me, what they wer that had spoken in my contraire ; and said, that they wer knawen to be sic commown liers as ther tong was na slander. Be this meanis the Quenis Maieste obligit me, ay mair and mair, to be cairfull for the weill of hir seruice ; and to tak occasion of new to geue hir Maieste my oppinion, to mak hir proffit be the mishandling of the Erle of Murrey and his associatis in England, be that Quenis vncourtes dealing with him before the twa specified ambassadours, and had broken all hir faire promyses unto him and them.

First I schew vnto hir Maieste, how that euer sen hir return in hir

awen contre, ſche had findre tymes eſſayed to get hir nobilite and haill ſubiectis entierly and foundly affected, to tak plaine part with hir in all actions whatſomeuer ; and cheifly againſt England, incaice ſche mycht haue occaſion till employ them ; quhilk ſche culd not as yet obtean, becauſe of the ſecret band and promyſe wes maid amang them, the tym when the Engliſ army cam in at Leith, to help to put the Frenche men out of Scotland.

“ Now,” ſaid I, “ the occaſion is offerit, wherby your Maieſte may bring your deſyred intention till paſs, gif ye culd find in your hart, other till pardon my L. of Murray and his aſſociatis, or elis till prolong the parlement wherin they ar to be forfeited, vntill your Maieſte may aduſe and ſe what profit may be drawen, other be ther forfeiting, or be putting them in hope of grace with tym, according as they may mak  
**P- 73.** cauſe in folowing and obſeruyng ſic reules and directions as ſalbe ſet down vnto them be your Maieſte.” To this ſche anſwerit, that now when they mycht not do na better they ſocht hir ; bot when ſche ſocht ther concurrence, as ſubiectis vnto ther natywe prince, they wald not heir hir ; na mair wald ſche now heir ther ſuttis. I ſaid, when ſoeuer they ſuld mak ther ſuttis, it ſuld not be by me ; bot this I propone of my ſelf to your Maieſte, wha can chuſe the beſt and leave the worſt in all accidentis. Sen it is na litle matter to won the haill hartis of all your ſubiectis, and alſo of a gud number in England that fauours them and ther religion ; wha wald admyre ſic princely vertus, as to ſe your Maieſte to reull ouer your awen paſſions and affections, and thereby think you maiſt worthy to regne ouer kyngdomes ; redy to forgeue, and laith to vſe vengeance cheifly againſt ſubiectis alredy vincult, and not worthy of your wraith, and wha ar now ſa willing to be

reuengit vpon your greteft aduerfary. Sa that clemency at fic a tym will be found maift convenient, and the part of juftice callit equite mair profitable than rygour ; for extremitie bringis on oft tymes difpaired enterpryfes. At this hir Maiefte entrit in choler, faying, “ I deffy them. What dow they to do, and what dar they do ? ” I faid, “ Madame, with your Maiefteis pardone, my propofition is bo folowing your Maiefteis commandement, to fchaw you my oppinion and aperances at all occafions, for the weill of your fervice.” Then fche faid, that fche thankit me for the fame, and granted that it was a gud aduyfe and neceffary to be done ; and that yet fche culd not find in hir hart to haue ado with any of them, for dyuers respectis ; preing me not to leawe aff fra geuyng hir my continowell aduyfe, at all fic occafions ; for howbeit fche mycht not folow this, fche mycht perchance do better another tym. I faid, that many noblemen being baniffit, and fa neir hand as the Newcaftell, having many vther noblemen heir at hame of ther kin and frendis, fa mall content as I knew them to be for the tym, with fic vnhappy bruitis wherof fche was not yngnorant, caufed me to fear fome attemptat till ane alteration ; for I faid I had hard weyd fpeeches, that we wald heir newes or the parlement was endit. Hir Maiefte fayed, that fche had alfo fome aduertifmentis of the lyk bruitis, bot that our contre men wer weill wordy. Efter that I had bene this way in hand with hir Maiefte, I entrit with f<sup>r</sup> David in the fame maner ; for then he and I wer vnder gud frendfchip. Bot he difdanit all danger, and difpyfed confaill, fa that I was compellit to fay that I fearit ouer lait repentance.

Ye haue hard how that Sir Nycholas Throgmorton was ane of the twa Englis ambaffadours, that wes fent in heir to ftay the mariage,

and to mak many promyses in his meftres name to fa many as wald refift the fame ; quhilk promyses wer efterwart denyed be the Quen of England, and be Mefter Randolphe. Bot Sir Nycholas Throgmorton ftod na aw, nother of the Quen nor confaill, to tell the verite, how that he had maid sic promyses to them in hir name. Quhilk the confaill and craftieft courteouris thocht ftrange, and wer myndit to punife him, . 76. for aduowing the faid promyse to haue bene maid in his meftres name, wer not that he, wyfely and circomfpectly, had ane act of confaill for his warrant till produce ; and the faid Sir Nycholas was fa angry. for that he had bene maid ane instrument to difceaue the Scotis baniffit lordis, that he aduyfed them to fut humbly for pardone at ther awen Quen, neuer again till offend hir for na prince alywe. And becaufe they had na moyen nor outgait, he pennit a perfwafywe propofition, and fend in heir vnto hir Maiefte.

“ Your Maiefte has in England many frendis of all degrees, that fauores your title ; bot for dyuers respectis. Some for very confcience faik, being perfuadit that in law your rycht is beft ; fome for the gud oppinion they haue conceaut, by the honnorable report they haue hard of your Maiefteis vertues and liberalite, wherby they efteam you maift worthy to gouern ; fome for factions that fauores your religion ; fome for the euell will they bear vnto your compeditour, feing ther awen parell, gif my Lady Katherine fuld com in that place.

“ Of thir fome ar papiftis and fome protestantis ; and yet how euer they differ amangest them felues, in religion or vther particulariteis, they ar baith of a mynd for the aduancement of that propos that tueches your Maiefte. Your Maiefte has alfo many ennemys, for dyuers re-

ſpectis not onlyk to the other ; whais ſtudy has alwayes bene and wilbe, (onles they may be maid frendis,) to hender any thing that may tend to your commoditie. In a point all concurreſſes, baith frendis and ennemys, yea the haill people ; that they ar maift defyrours to haue the ſucceſſion of the crowne declaired and affured, that they may be at a certaintie. Only the Quen hir ſelf is of the contrary oppinion, and wald be glaid the matter alwayes fuld ſtand in dout, and hing in ſuſpens.

“ Your vnfrendis has done what they culd, to tak the aduantage of the tyme to your prejudice ; and to that end preffit the halding of the parlement, quhilk was befoir continowed vntill October laſt ; knowing affuredly that gif the parlement held, the ſucceſſion of the crown wald be callit in queſtion ; and they thocht the tyme ſerued weall for ther propos, when ther was diuiſion and trouble in your awen realm, and your intelligence in England, baith with the Quen and ſubiectis, as they thocht, at the worſt. Your fauorers, for eſchewing of that inconvenient, and wynnyng of tyme to gif your Maieſte place to werk, and remoue all impedimentis ſa far as wyſdome may, has found the meanis to drywe it preſently whill the nyxt ſpring. Now ther aduylſe is, that in this mean tyme, your Maieſte proceed by wiſdome to aſſure your ſelf of the haill vottis, or at leaſt the beſt and maift part of the parlement, when euer the matter ſhalbe brocht in queſtion ; quhilk may be done by re-teanyng the hartis of them ye haue alreedy, recouering of them that ar brangled, wynnyng of the neuteris, and ſa many of your aduerſaris as may be wonn ; for all ar not, as is to be ſupponit, ſa far addicted to the contrary faction, bot when the cauſe is remoued of the affection that way, the effect alſo will ceaſe.

“ Generally your Maieſte mon forbear to do any act that will offend

the haill people, and vse sic meanis as ar lyk to content any people. Strangers ar vniverfelly suspect to the haill people ; wherinto your Maieſte in your mariage has wyſely prouydit for ther contentation, in abſteanyng from matches with forren princes. Sa aduysē they your Maieſte, to abſtean from the conſluſion of any leig or confederacy with any forrene prince, that may offend England, whill ye haue firſt eſſay-  
ed what ye may purchefe be benevolence of the born men of the land. Not that they wald wiſs your Maieſte to forſaik the frendſchip of France and Spaine, bot rather that your Maieſte ſuld wyſely enterteny them baith, to remane at your deuotion incaice that efterwart ye haue to do  
**P. 77.** with ther fauour. Nevertheles, that the ſame remain rather in generall termes, as heirtofoir, quhill ye ſe farther, then that ye proceed till any ſpeciall actis that may offend England, and that ye can not with honour bring bak again when ye wald. Sa many of your aduerſaries as ar addicted to the contrary faction, for hattrent of your religion, may be wone, when they ſe your Maieſte wyſely continow in the temperance and moderation ye haue hitherto vſit within your awen realm, in matters of religion, without innovation or alteration. Sa many as by miſreportis has bene caried to the contrary faction, may by trew report be brocht bak again, when they fall heir of your benignite and clemency, vſed alwaies towardis your ſubiectis ; quhilkis vertues in princes, of all vthers maiſt allures the hartis of people, to fauour and yeild euen vnto ther commoun ennemys. Sa many as can deall warrely and diſcretly with your frendis of baith the religions, and ar only addicted for conſcience ſaik vnto my Lady Katherine, being perſuadit of the betternes of your title by richt, may be wone to your Maieſte be contrary perſuaſions, and be deducing of ſic raiſouns and argumentis, as may be allegit



for proif of your gud caufe, where there is ftoir enough. Some your Maieſte will find in England, that will hazard ſa far as they dar, to ſerue your turn in this behalf. Bot becauſe it is ſa dangerous to men to deall in, and ſtandis ſubiectis vpon lyues and landis, gene they be ſean ernest medlers to trauell in that part ſa ſufficiently as appertenis, it will requyre ſic instrumentis of your awen, when tym commes, wha may baldly ſpeak without danger, and with whom the ſubiectis of England dar frely communicat ther myndis, and enter in conference. Gif any feris your Maieſte, thinking that ye haue an euell oppinion of them, the affurance of any truſty miniſter, of your gud will, whom they will credit, will ſchone put them out of dout and mak them fauourable anough. They that ar conſtantly yours, ar eaſely retenit at your deuotion. They that heirtofore has born any fauour, and be the lait occurrences ar any thing branlet, wilbe brocht hame again, when they fall ſe your Maieſte, now when it is fallen in your handis to uſe rygour or mercy as pleſis you, rather inclyn to the maiſt plauſible part, in ſchawing your magnanimite, wher ye brocht your ſubiect to ſubmiſſion; and then ſchawes gentilnes, as the gud paſtour to reduce his ſcheep that wer gone aſtray hame to the fald again. They that ar yet newterelis, by the ſame meanis and trew information of your intrefis by law, may all be won to your fyd. This done, when the matter commes in queſtion, as your frendis will ernestly preſis at this nyxt parlement, your Maieſte will bear it away without contrauerſie.

“ This deuylſe, in ſa far as tuechis the reconcilien of your ſubiectis, is not a fetche for ther fauour, bot thoct expedient for your ſeruice; done be many that has na fauour to them, and ar different from them in religion. For it fall put the Quen of England in a gret fear, when

fche fall fee in this realm fic a vnion, the head and haill membres together ; and will not wit how to trouble your Maieftes eftait, fpecially when the reconciliation takis effect in the hartis of the fubiectis of England ; wha fall think them felues in ane happy eftait, gif they fuld  
. 78. com vnder the obedience of fa bening a princes, wha can find in hir hart fa weill to forgeue, when men becomes recreant. For albeit it can not be denyed bot my L. of Murray had mifufit himfelf towardis your Maiefte, and your Maiefte has gud caufe to be offendit with him, yet it is hard to perfwad the protestantis that fome part of his greif is not for religion. This way redreffis all ; and na doubt they that ar protestantis in England, will declaire them felues a gret deall the mair effectiounit in your caufe, when they fall fee men of ther awen religion clemently handled. And that your Maiefte may haue experience, that it is your aduancement that men wald by this meanis procure, and not the commoditie of them that your Maiefte is offendit with, a myd way may be folowed out ; that is, in all femblable cafes the multitude is fpaired, and the cheif authours ar principally perfwed. It may pleife your Maiefte to caufe pen a lettre in gud termes and form, and publifch the fame by proclamation and prent, declairing the iuft caufe of your greif againft them ; and yet for declaration of your awen gud nature, abone ther deferuingis, ye ar content to remit the haill, except fic principallis as ye pleis to referue and except by name in the generall pardone ; with whom ye will not tak fic ordour, quhill ye haue farther tryell and experience of ther penitence. The perfones fo to be nominat and excepted fall depart out of England, to what contre plesis your Maiefte, and ther to remaine during your plefour. In this mean tym, gif your Maiefte find that this bening vfage of your Maiefte in this be-

half, fall produce any sic fruit as is heir spoken, and ye lyk, for your Maieſte has the crymes lyand abone ther head to be perſewed and rygour execut againſt them, as pleſit your Maieſte, gif ye find it proffit-able ; or than your Maieſte will extend your fauour further as ye think gud, and as ther deportementis in the mean tym deſeruis ; and all that fauoris them in England will trauell in your cauſe, ſa far as ther credit will extend, as gene they wer agentis for your Maieſte. They will in na wayes, gif they may eſchew it, be in the Quen of Englandis com-mown ; nother by obteanyng of any fauour at your hand by hir inter-vention, nor yet for any ſupport in the tym of ther baniſſement ; bot rather it may pleaſe your Maieſte, that ther chargis be tane vpon that quhilk was ther awen lyuings. Be folowing this aduylſe, quhilk in na wayes can be prejudiciable to your Maieſte, and is able to bring on a greter commoditie, your Maieſte may recouer and wone the maiſt part of the biſchoppis of England, many of the greteſt of the nobilite and gentilmen, wha is yet newterall.”—Whais names wer declairit vnto hir Maieſte in chiffer ; be whais meanis he allegit hir Maieſte fuld obtean ſa gret ane entreis in England, that albeit that Quen wald kyeth in hir contraire, ſche nedit not to cair ; for in ſending bot ane thowſand men of hir awen, out of four partis of England a ſufficient number fuld jun with them, be whais forcis without any ſtrangers hir Maieſte fuld obtean that thing quhilk is wrangeouſly refuſit and detenit.

- P. 79. When hir Maieſte had muſed vpon this diſcours, it had gret force to moue hir, aſweill for the gud oppinion ſche had of him that ſent it, as being of hir awen nature mair inclynit to mercy then rigour ; together that ſche was wyſe, and perſauit a weill therby vnto the aduancement of hir affaires in England. Sche tok a reſolution to folow this aduylſe,

was mouit to hald fordwart the Parlement, and till forfalt the baniffit lordis, againft hir awen intention, and againft hir formair deliberation.

Now ther was a nember of lordis at hame, that apperit to be frendis to the lordis that wer baniffit; as the Erle of Mortoun, the Lord Ruthven, the Lord Lindſay, and dyuers vthers gentilmen ther fauorers only for religion. Some of thir wes miſcontent that ther frendis fuld be forfalted; vthers had vther particulaires; ſpecially the Erle of Mortoun and his dependers fearit a reuocation that was allegit to be maid at the ſaid parlement, to bring bak again to the crown dyuers gret diſpoſitions geuen out during the Quenis minorite, and ſome benefices that wer tane be noblemen at ther awen handis, during the ciuill warres, under pretext of religion. Thir and vther particularites moued them to conſult together how to get the parlement ſtayed, and to mak a chenge in court. The Erle of Mortoun had a crafty head, and had a cuſing callit George Dowglas the poſtulat, ſone naturell to the Erle of Angus, was alſo father to Dame Margret Dowglas Contes of Lenox the Kingis mother. The ſaid George was continowally about the K. as his mother brother, and pat in his head ſic ſuſpition againft ſeigneur Daid, that the K. wes wone to geue his conſent ouer facely to the flauchter of ſeigneur Daid, quhilk the Lordis of Mortoun, Ruthven, Lindſay and vthers had devyfit; that way to be maſters of the court, and to ſtay the parlement.

The King was yet very yong of yeares, and not weill experimented with the nature of this nation. It was ſupponit alſo that the Erle of Lenox knew of the ſaid enterpryſe, for he had his chamber within the palice; and ſa had the Erles of Atholl, Bothewell, and Huntly, wha baith eſchaiped be louping down out of a window, towardis the litle

garding wher the lyons are ligit. This vil act was done vpon a Saturday [the 9.] of [March] in the year [1565] about sex houres. When the Quen was at hir supper in hir cabinet, a number of armed men entrit within the clofs before the closing of the getis, and tok the keyes from the porter. Ane part of them passit vp throw the Kingis chamber, conducted be the Lord Ruthven and George Douglas the postulat ; the rest remanit in the clofe, with drawen swardis in ther handis, crying " a Douglas, a Douglas," for ther flougern ; for it was in the glomyng of the euenyng. The King was past vp to the Quen of before, and was leanin vpon hir chair, when the Lord Ruthven entrit with his knappifca vpon his head, and George the postulat entrit in with him and dyuers vther, sa rudly and vnreuerently, that the burd fell, the candelis and meat and plaitis fell. S<sup>r</sup> David tok the Quen about the waift, and cryed for marcy ; bot George Dowglas pluckit fourth the Kingis dager that wes behind his bak, and strak him first with it, leauyng it sticking within him. He geving gret skirlis and cryes, wes rudly rest from the Quen, wha culd not get him faif, nother for boift nor fairnes. He wes forceably drawen fourth of the cabinet, and flain in the vtter hall, and her Maiefte keped as captywe.

That same nycht, the Erle of Atholl, lard of Tullibardin, and secretary Liddingtoun, and Sir James Balfour, wer sufferit to reteir them selues fourth of the palice of Hallirudhouse, and wer in some feir of ther lyues. The nyxt mornyng, quhilk was Sondag, I was lettin fourth at the get : for I lay therin. Passing throw the vtter clofe, the Quenis Maiefte was lokiug fourth of a window, and cryed vnto me to help hir. Then I drew neir vnto the window, and askit what help lay in my power I fuld mak. Sche said, go to the prouest of Edenbrough, and bid him in my name

~~and com~~ and releaue me out of thir trai-  
~~the said~~ said sche, "for they will stay yow." Be-  
~~the said~~ Nibit, maister houshald to the Erle of Le-  
~~the said~~ company to stay me; to whom I gaue gud wordis,  
~~the said~~ passing to the preching in S<sup>t</sup> Gillis kirk, for it  
~~the said~~ went with speid vnto the said prouest, and tald  
~~the said~~ from the Quen. He said he had another com-  
~~the said~~ always, that he fuld draw the people to the  
~~the said~~ what they wald do; bot he loked for na help at ther  
~~the said~~ part of them wer sa miscontent with the pre-  
~~the said~~ that they desyred a chengement. Yet he conuenit  
~~the said~~ and schew me ther answer; quhilk I maid hir Maieste  
~~the said~~ of hir ladyes, whom sche send again vnto me;  
~~the said~~ supponit that my L. of Murray and his affociatis  
~~the said~~ remanying at Newcastle in England, wald be  
~~the said~~ that wer about hir; willing me at his commyng to  
~~the said~~ perswaid him not to deffyll him self as to jun with them,  
~~the said~~ be hir frend at this strait; quhilk doing  
~~the said~~ weill, and wone hir loue and fauour as euer he had  
~~the said~~ I vfed at his incommyng, quhilk was vpon  
~~the said~~ he was mair moued at his meating with hir Maieste,  
~~the said~~ him and killit him, alleging that incaice he had bene at  
~~the said~~ haue sufferit hir to haue bene sa vncourtesly handlit;  
~~the said~~ that the teares fell from his eyn. He knew also  
~~the said~~ for his cause, bot for ther awen particulairs, that the  
~~the said~~ maid that enterpryse; yet he and his company  
~~the said~~ quhilk they wer fumondit to the parlement.

In the mean tym the King repented his folly ; wherupon hir Maieſte tok occaſion till perſwad him till abandone the lordis, that had committed ſa odyous a crym as to put hir in hazard of hyr lyf, together with his barne that wes in hir wamb ; neuertheles ſche wald forgeue them, and mak them fic ſecurite as they wald deuyſe. The L. enterpryſers ſeing the K. wone, and my L. of Murray not ſa frak for them as they ſupponit, wer fain to do the nyxt beſt, and let a maner of a pacification be pennit ; quhilk wes dyuers times wreten ouer again, to put in and out certane headis and clauſes, to dryue tym vntill the wret mycht appear plaucible and at a point. Hir Maieſte cauſed the K. to aduſe them to diſcharge the gard that keped hir, that ther ſecurite mycht be paſt, ſche being at liberte, or elis it wald not auail them. Sa that nycht, quhilk was Tuifday, they went all to ther reſt ; bot the Quen, with the K. and Traquair, and Arthur Aſkin maſter ſtabler for the tym, paſt out of Halyrudhouſe at mydnycht towardis the caſtell of Dombarr, and left word with ane of hir ladys to me, that I ſuld be ernest to keip my L. of Murray in tune not to jun with the reſt of the lordis ; wha the nyxt mornyng fand them ſelues far diſappointed without any apperance of a dreſs or pacification. In the mean tym hir Maieſte vſed deligence to ſend out of Dombarre Meſter Jhon Hay Abbot of Bamirinoch, to my L. of Murray ; willing him to tak my help to draw my L. of Murray vtterly from the lait offenders, and in ſa doing, to be pardonit, he and all his part takers. They on this maner being deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, wer compellit to flee in England, to the New-caſtell, wher in a maner they mycht find the other lordis neſtis yet hait.

A few dayes of before, my L. Duc, my Lordis of Argyll, Glencarn and Rothes had obtenit ther pacification ; for they wer deuydit during

ther baniffement, and hir Maieſte thocht not meit to haue ſa many lordis in hir contraire ; as now again, when the Erle of Murray was drawen fra the Erle of Mortoun and his marrowes, becauſe he had a gret frendſchip and dependance for the tym ; that ſche mycht the eaſelier be reuengit vpon the laſt maiſt deteſtable dede, as till mourther hir ſaruant in hir prefens, ſche being gret with chyld ; done apperantly to cauſe hir and hir bairn baith be diſtroyed ; wheras they mycht haue ſlane the ſaid Dauid in any vther part at any tym they pleaſit. My L. of Murray and his dependers deſyred me to cary his humble thankis and conſent vnto hir Maieſteis deſyre, and how that he had diſchargit him ſelf vnto them that had committed the lait odious crym ; and wald promyſe hir Maieſte never to haue to do with them, nor trauell for them.

I met hir Maieſte commyng from Dombur to Hadingtoun, and was wery fauourably receaued, with gret thankis for my continowell cair of hir honnour and weilfaire ; and that nycht in Hadingtoun, ſubſcryuit dyuers remiſſions for my L. of Murray and his dependers ; lamenting vnto me the Kingis folly, vnthankfulnes and miſbehauour, and alſo of my L. of Lenox part ; quhilk I ſupponit had bene pardonit, and I excuſed the beſt I mycht be raiſoun of his youth, and layed the wyet vpon George Douglas and vthers ; preing hir Maieſte, for many neceſſary reſpectis, to remoue out of hir mynd all eyleſtis againſt him, ſeing that ſche had choſen him hir ſelf againſt the oppinion of many, and promyſed hym fauour again of new. Bot I culd perſaue nathing bot a gret gruge that ſche had in hir hart. That nycht in Haddingtoun, the K. inquyrit at me gene my L. of Murray had wreten vnto him. I ſaid that his letter to the Quen was wreten in haſt, and that he eſtemed the Quen and him bot ane. He ſaid, he mycht haue wreten alſo to me. Then he



r. 82. inquired what was becom of Mortoun, Ruthven and the rest of that company. I said, I beleued they wer fled, I wift not wher. He said, "as they haue brewen, so let them drink." It apperit that he wes fory that he had left them, finding the Quenis fauour bot cauld. The nyxt day they cam till Edenbrough, and logit within the castell; wher some wer apprehendit and execut, that had bene in the clofe of the palice, and had kepit the getis the nycht that David was slain.

Hir Maieste was now far gane with chyld, and past to Stirling, intending to ly ther; wher the K. folowed hir, and fra that till Alloway. At lenth fche cam bak again to the castell of Edenbrough, and some thocht that fche fled fra his company. I trauelit earnestly to help matters betwen them, and was sa importun that I was thocht sa faschious, that hir Maieste desyred my L. of Murray to reproue me, and forbid me to be famylier with the K.; wha past vp and down his allane, and few durst bear hym company. He was mislyked be the Quen, and be all them that fauorit secretly the lait baniffit lordis. Sa that it was a gret pitie to see that gud yong prince casten aff, wha failed rather for lak of gud confaill and experience, then of euell will. It apperit to be his desteny to lyk better of flatterers and euell company, then of plane speakers and of gud men; quhilk hes bene the wrak of many princes, wha with gud company mycht haue producit worthy effectis.

About this tym the Quen of England was sa fair vesit with a het feuer, that na man beleued any vther bot death to be the end of it, all England being therthrow in a gret perplexite. Bot a thing is to [be] markit, that twa contrary factions ther for the tym, had baith determinit, vn knawen vthers myndis, to fend for the Quen of Scotland, and set the crown of England vpon hir head.

This sould  
haue bene  
placet ef-  
ter the  
baptysm of  
the prince,  
at this  
mark.

+

My brother Sir Robert Melville was then ambassadour ther resident for the tym, and I serued in stead of secretaire heir at hame, because the secretaury Liddingtoun was absent in some suspition. He send hame continowally, and aduertifementis how till proced; and I again wret the answeres at hir Maiesteis direction; [*wha a litle before this tym being at Gedbrouch, to vefit the Erle Bodowell, wha wes ouerthrawn be the theues, and hurt vnto the death as wes supponit, yet he reco-uerit again to wirk greter mischeif, hir Maieste fell ther deadly seak, and maid a very wyse and discret testament, and many godly prayers, and gaif many gud documentis to my L. of Murrey; quhilk all I set out in wret, and send in England at dyuers tymes; quhilk my brother schew to dyuers noblemen and vther fauorers of hir Maieste, wha all desyred copyes of the said lettres; quhair of my brother aduertifed hir Maieste, to cause me continew, alleging that it layed down dyuers euell brutis that hir ennemys spred abroid; for the dayes wer euell, and it was a busy tym.*]

Now the Erle Bodowelis fauour increaffit, quhilk miscontentit many. He and the Erle of Huntly and the Bischop of Ros invyed the fauour that the Quen schew vnto the Erle of Murray; for they wer vpon contrary courfes. The Quen again knew what fauour was born vnto him  
P. 83. baith in England and Scotland, and that sche wald be the better lykit in baith the contrees then for his faik; folowing and taking vp again the formair aduyse and information quhilk was send in be Sir Nycolas Throgmortoun, and forget not the lait help that he had maid hir at his hamecommynge. Thir twa erles, with the foirfaid bischop, tok occasion when the tym of hir Maiesteis birth drew neir, to persuad hir Maieste to put my L. of Murrey in ward, to remain na langer bot till hir Maieste

wer delyuerit of hir birth ; alleging that they wer assuredly aduertist, that he and his dependers wer myndit to bring in the baniffit lordis, euen at the very tym of hir birth. For they thocht, gif anes he wer wardit, that they fuld get deuyces anew to cause him be kepit, and disgracit ay the langer the mair, when he fuld not be present nor haue plaice to answer and resist ther callomnies ; quhilk hir Maieste tald me, at a meit tym to put it clean out of hir mynd, and to let hir see that it was bot a plane practys. For many of the barrons of Loudien wer frendis to the Erle of Mortoun, among the rest the lard of Elphinstoun my gud brother, whais mother was a Douglas of the house of Whittingem. Be this frendship, the Erle of Mortoun causit wret a bill vnto my sifter the lady of Elphinstoun, that sche wald deall with me and perswad me to wret lettres vnto the Electour Palatin, and vther princes of my acquaintance in Germany, to suffer hym to lywe in ther contre. For my brother, be hir Maiesteis direction, preffit the Quen of Eugland to put them fourth of hir contre ; and he durst not ga in France, wher the Quen had sa many frendis. This I schew vnto hir Maieste, and sa sche wardit him not, bot farbad me to wret in fauours of Mortoun.

Thir geloufies was among the cheiffest courteurs for the tym. In the mean tym Mester Hary Killygrew was sent in heir, ambassadour from the Quen of England ; wha was in gret suspition of hir estait, for the many frendis in England that wer knawen to be fauorers of our Quen, and lykways in Yreland. The said ambassadour complanit againt ane Mester Ruxbe, that was recet in Scotland, being a rebell and a papist ; declaren how that the Quen his mestres had commandit Mortoun and his complices fourth of hir contre ; quhilk was done be open proclamation, to pleise the Quenis Maieste and hir ambassadour,

that cryed out continually for hir suffering them to abyde sa lang in England. Yet as we had intelligence efterwart, they wer secretly over-seen, with condition that they wald kepe them selues quyet.

Mester Killigrew allegit also, that the Quenis Maieste had maid practises with Onell in Yreland, wha had his ambassadour presently in Edenbrough, in company with the Erle of Argyll. And thridly, he complenit of some disorder vpon the borders mouit be Scottismen. Bot the cheif colour of his commiffion was, till confort the Quen ouer hir lait troubles, and to congratulat hir fredome and gud successe ouer hir wickit and rebellious subiectis.

It may appear sufficiently be that Quenis formair proceadingis, how that all ther sifterly famyliarite was cessit, and insted therof nathing bot jelousies, suspitions and hattrent; and yet they kepit ane outward dealing, for keping of nybourhead and intelligence. The Scottis ambassadour for the tym in England had sa gud hope that his credit was gret, for he was estymed fur and secret; quhilk caused a gret number of nobilite, protestantis and papistis, to communicat ther inward myndis vnto hym. Mester Randolphe had not the lyk credit in Scotland, bot only with some of the semplest fort of the ministers; ther-  
P. 84. for this Ruxbe was send in heir, to seem to be a zelous fauorer of hir Maiesteis richt and tytle vnto the crown of England, and to purches famylier speaking with the Quen, to bring in purpos his frendschip with dyuers catholikis in England, wha durst not deall with the Scottis ambassadour being a protestant, bot wald deall him self betwen hir Maieste and them; to essay what he culd draw out of hir Maiestis mynd, to mak aduertisement again to the secretary Cicill; and ad-dressit him vnto the Quenis Maieste be the bischop of Ross, wha was

a catholyk ; the said bishop defyring hir Maieſte to be ſecret. What he learnt for the tym, I can not tell, bot he wret findrie intelligences vnto the ſecretary Cicill, quhilk did harm ; bot it was not ſa ſecretly kepit bot my brother gat knowledge therof, and alſo of a lettre that the ſecretary Cicill wret again in Scotland to the ſaid Maiſter Ruxbe, promyſen to cauſe him be rewardit, and willing him to continow. Wherof my brother be his gret intelligence was ſa weill aduertift, that he maid hir Maieſte foirſean therof in dew tym, with his information alſo vnto me, to remember hir Maieſte how to convoy that matter. Se that when Meſter Killigrew maid his complaint vpon Meſtre Ruxbis recepying and traiting in this contre, hir Maieſte cauſed him incontinent to be apprehendit, and all his chiffers and wretis ; among the quhilkis was found lykwaies the letter wreten be the ſecretary Cicill abone ſpecified. Ruxbe finding his fynes diſcouert, fell incontinent vpon his knees, and granted himſelf worthy of a thouſand deathes, crauyng humbly grace and pardone. Hir Maieſte cauſed hym to be ſa ſecretly and ſtraitly keped, that the Engliſ ambaffadour culd get na intelligence how nor for what cauſe, vntill that the Quenis [Maieſte] ſchew him hir ſelf, how that vpon his complaint, to pleaſe the Quen hir gud fiſter, ſche had cauſed apprehend the ſaid Ruxbe ; wha ſuld be delyuerit ſa ſchone efter his retournyng, as it wald pleaſe hir fiſter fend for him.

Bot as this Maiſter Ruxbe was feingzeit, ſa was the complaint. Bot hir Maieſte was aduyſit not to ſeam till knaw any wreting or practyſe maid in hir contraire be the ſecretary Cicill, to do him that ſchame, wha profeſſit be ſa many fair promyſes to be hir frend ; becauſe it was not yet tym to caſt aff intelligence, ſa lang as hir Maieſte had maiſt

proffit therby ; as wald haue prouen in effect, wer not sic vnhappy handling and chances that fell out fchortly after.

The Quenis Maieſteis rekonyng being neir run out, hir Maieſte cauſed mak my diſpaſche for England in a redines, to annunce the gud newes of hir delyuery vnto that Quen ; leaving a blank in hir lettre, to be fillit other with a ſone or a dochter, as it mycht pleaſe God to grant vnto hir ; and to requyre the Quen of England to ſend heir in hir name, ſic of hers as ſche knew to be beſt addicted to enterteny gud loue and frendſchip between them, to goſſuppis, for ſa ar they callit in England ; as alſo to ſatiſfie hir anent the maiſt part of Meſter Killigreues demandis in hir name.

All this whyll I lay within the caſtell of Edenbrough, preing nycht and day for hir Maieſteis gud and happy delyuery of a fair ſonne. This prayer being granted, I was the firſt that was aduertit be the Lady Boyn, in hir Maieſteis name, to part with deligence, the xix day of Junij in the year 1566, betwen ten and eleuen houres before nun. It ſtrock tuelff houres when I tok my horſe, and was at Berwik that ſame nycht. The fourt day efter I was at Londoun, and met firſt with my brother ; wha ſent and aduertit the ſecretary Cicill that ſame nycht of my commyng, and of the birth of the prince ; willing hym to kep it vp, vntill my being at court to ſchaw it my ſelf vnto hir Maieſte, P. 85. wha was for the tym at Grenwitch ; wher hir Maieſte was in gret merines and dancing efter ſupper ; bot ſa ſchone as the ſecretary Cicill roundit the newes in hir ear of the prince birth, all merines was layed aſyd for that nycht ; euery ane that wer preſent marueling what mycht moue ſa ſodane a chengement ; for the Quen ſat down with hir hand vpon hir haffet, and bourſting out to ſome of hir ladies, how that

the Quen of Scotlandis was leichter of a faire sonne, and that sche was bot a barren stok. The nyxt mornyng was appointed vnto me to get audience; at what tym my brother and I past down the watter be boit vnto Grenwitche, and wer met be some frendis that tald us how sorowfull hir Maieste was for my newes, and what consaill sche had gottin to schaw a glaid contenance; quhilk sche did in hir best apparell, and sayed that the joyfull newes of the Quen hir sisters delyuery of a faire sone, quhilk I had sent vnto hir be Mester Cicill, had recoverit hir out of a heauy seaknes quhilk had halden hir xv dayes. Therefore sche welcommit me with a mirry volt, and thankit me for the diligence that I had vfed. All this sche said before I had delyuerit vnto hir my lettre of credence. Efter that sche had red it, I declaired how that the Quen had haisted me towardis hir Maieste, whom sche knew of all vther hir frendis wald be glaideft of the gud newes of hir birth, albeit dear bocht with the parell of hir lyf; for I said, that sche was fa fair handled in the mean tym, that sche wiffit neuer to haue bene married. This I said to geue hir a litle skar to mary, be the way; for fa my brother had infourmed me, because sche boifted somtymes to mary the Archeduc Charles of Austria, when any man preffit hir to declair a second persone. Then I requested hir Maieste to be a goffup vnto the Quen, for our commers ar callit goffups in England; quhilk sche granted glaidly to be. Then I said, hir Maieste wald haue a faire occasion to se the Quen, quhilk sche had fa oft desyred. At this sche smyled, and said sche wald wis that hir estait and affaires mycht permit hir; and promysed to fend baith honorable lordis and ladyes to supple hir rowm. Then I gaue hir Maieste maist harty thankis, in the Quenis name, for hir frendly vesitation and conforting of the Quen be

Mester Hary Killigrew. Sche inquyrit gif I left him in Scotland, and what was the cause of his lang tary. I said, that the Quen tok hir childbed schortly efter his arryving, quhilk was the cheif cause of his delay ; bot I had in commiffion to tell hir Maieſte ſomthing theranent, to ſatiffie hir mynd in the mean tym ; and to thank hir Maieſte for the way putting of the Scotis rebels out of hir contre, albeit ther wer ſome bruitis, that they wer yet ſecretly kepit be ſome of hir ſubiectis ; bot I beleued not that any of hir ſubiectis durſt be ſa bald, or ſa diſobedient. Bot ſche affermed that they wer fourth of hir contre ; and gif it mycht be vtherwayes tryed, it ſuld not paſs without rygorous puniſement.

I ſchew hir Maieſte, that vpon hir ambaffadours deſyre and complaint, the Quen had cauſed apprehend Meſter Ruxbe, and ſall cauſe hym be delyuerit vnto hir Maieſte, when euer ſche pleaſis ſend for hym. And as concernyng Onell, ſche had na dealing with him, nor knew not that ther was a ſaruand of his ſend vnto my L. of Argyll, ontill Meſter Killigrews commyng, that ſche cauſed inquyre at the ſaid Erle ; wha granted that Onell had ſend ane vnto hym, for ſome purpoſes amang them ſelues, bot that ſche nother ſaw nor ſpak with that man, nor had dealing with any man in Yreland.

P. 86. Hir Maieſte apperit to be weill ſatiffied with the matters of Yreland, and anent Maiſter Ruxbe ; bot ſche forget to ſut or ſend for him. Before I tok my leawe to return, I enterit with hir Maieſte anent the title ; for my L. of Leyciſter was become hir plane frend, and had bene twyſe in hand with the Quen of England, a litle before my commyng, to declare the Quen of Scotland ſecond perſonne ; alleging that it wald be the Quen his maiſtres greteſt weall and ſecurite ; and ſaid



in ane anger, that Cicill wald vndo all. Lykwayes the Duc of Norfolk, the Erle of Penbrough and many vthers, fchew them selues mair planly frendis, efter they vnderftod the birthe of the prince; fa that hir Maieftes matters in England wer for the tym far agaitwart, and I was aduyfit therfore till fay vnto hir Maiefte, that I was affured fche ftayed to declair the Quen fecond perfonne, only vntill fche mycht fee fic fucceffion of hir body as now God had gratiofully granted; preing hir Maiefte to tak the fame gud occafion to fatiffie the myndis of many, afweill in England as in Scotland, that defyred to fe that matter put out of dout; and the rather becaufe that the Quen my meftres wald neuer feak any richt or place in England, bot be hir Maieftes fauour and fortherance. Sche faid, that the birth of the prince was to hir a gret fpur, to caufe the maift skilfull lawers of England to vfe gretter deligence in the trying out of that matter, quhilk fche eftemit maift juftly to appartean vnto hir gud fifter; and that fche wiffit from hir hart that it fuld ga that gait. I replied, that at my laft being ther, hir Maiefte was vpon the fame termes; and that as I had brocht hir gud newes from the Quen, I wald defyre to be fa happy as to cary hame with me vnto hir Maiefte, the gud newes of that lang delayed declairation. Then fche faid, that fche hoppit to fatiffie the Quen farther in the matters, be fic noblemen as fuld be fent in Scotland for the baptifme of the prince. All this I tok for delayes, and fa tok my leaue, becaufe my brother wes to remane ther. The nyxt day, hir Maiefte fent vnto me twa grumes of hir chamber, with hir wretting, and the prefent of a fayre chaigne.

My brother gaue me the aduyfe of hir Maieftes freindis, togither

with his awen instructions, how till proceed efter my hame commyng, as folowes.

“ First, that he is in sic suspition for his handling ther, be the aduertifmentis of Master Ruxbe, and practyses of hir ennemys, that hir Maieste mon lat Mester Kelligrew vnderstand, that sche is myndit to reteir him hame schortly ; or elis he feares to be commandit to return.

“ 2. That hir Maieste requyre the Erle of Leycifter and secretary Cicill to be sent for to be hir gossoppes, as metest instrumentis to parfyt all articles and gud offices of amytie between them.

“ Item, that Mester Killigrew be weill traited and rewardit, that he may mak gud report, till hald aff discord, that intelligence may continow ; and desyre him to declare vnto the Erle of Lecester and secretary Cicill, that it can not stand with gud frendship, to be so lang fed with fair wordis without effect.

“ Item, that hir Maieste cast not aff the Erle of Northumberland, albeit as a fearfull man and of facilitate, he delyuerit hir letter vnto the Quen of England ; nather feam to find falt with Sir Hary Percy as yet, for his dealing with Mester Ruxbe, quhilk he dois to won fauour in court, being of a contrary faction till his brother the Erle.

P. 87. “ Item, that Mester Ruxbe be weill keaped, and sent far north in a sure part, that he geue na haifty intelligence ; for he has alredy wreten vnto secretary Cicill, be Sir Hary Percy his moyen, that he can discover all your practyses and secretis.

“ Let my L. of Argyll enterteney Oneill as of him self, the Quen not seaming to knaw therof.

“ The secretary Cicill deuysed a strange practyse against the meeting, quhilk because my Lord of Leycester discouerit vnto the Quen his mestres, Cicill sterit vp the Erle of Suffix to forge a quarell against him ; bot the Quen tok the Erle of Leycesters part, and fynally agreed them, and also Leycester and Vrmond.

“ Item, that hir Maieste fuld wret twa lettres with Maister Killigrew to my brother ; the ane that he may schaw it vnto the Quen of England, and the other that he may schaw vnto the secretary Cicill.

“ Item, to aduertis my brother, what he fall do mair for my Lady Lenox, whais libertie mycht do mekle gud.

“ Now till conclud ; feing the gret mark that hir Maieste schutis at, let hir Maieste be mair cairfull and circumspect, that hir desyres being sa neir to be obteanit, be not all ouerthrowen for lak of secrecie, gud handling and prencely behauour ; having sa many factious ennemys lying at the wait, to mak ther proffit of the least little apperance that can be maid.”

Schortly efter my hamecommynge, Maister Kelligrew the Englis ambassadour obteanit his dispasche, with a frendly answer, to his contentement, and with a faire cheynge ; and with hym, hir Maieste send thir twa lettres folowing to my brother, be his awen aduyse, as said is, that he mycht tak occasion to let the Quen of England se the ane, and Mester Cicill the other ; partly to serue to put some doutis out of ther myndis, engenderit be Mester Ruxbis aduertismentis. For as I haue said, the bischop of Ros had maid the said Ruxbis convoy vnto the Quen ; for nether he nor the Erle Bothuell desyred hir turnis to prospere vnder my brothers hand, because he was not of ther faction ;

sa that be ther meanis he gat sic intelligence, as pat all hir Maieftis proceedingis anes in ane vntre, vntill my brothers extraordinair intelligence, be them that wer in gret familiarite with the Quen, maid hym foirfean to cause apprehend the said Ruxbe, with his hail lettres and memories as said is. Sa ar many gud princes handled, and commonly ther trewest faruandis decourted, be the enuy and craft of ther factious ennemys ; for wicked men, that haue lost ther credit be tromperie and trikis, wherby they get na place to do gud faruice to princes, effayes to creip in ther fauour be wyles, flattery and vther vnlesome meanis, wherby they may decourt sic as surmontis them in vertu and honest reputation.

#### HER MAIESTEIS LETTRES VNT0 MY BROTHER.

“ Trusty and belouit, We greit yow weill. Wheras your brother James has tald us of the frendly and fecfull aduyse, geuen vnto yow and him be Mester secretary Cicill, towardis the continuation of the amytie betwix the Quen our gud fister and us, tending also to our awen particulier preferrement, We thocht meit to send thir few lynes vnto yow, that ye mycht thank him hartly in our name, and declair vnto him our meanyng and intention, as ye find opportunitie, tueching the thre pointis that he mentionit at that tym.

“ The first, as we vnderstand, tueching our towardnes to them of the religion ; the second, tueching strait iustice to be obserued vpon the  
 P. 88. borders ; the thrid, that we will searche na vther meanis to com vnto the succeffion of the crown of England, bot only be the fauour and fourth-setting of the Quen our gud fister.

“ As to the first, ye sall answer in our name, That sen our retourn-

for the grant ſche has maid to be our goſſup, and promyſe to ſend ſa honorable a company of lordis and ladyes, for ſolemniffing the ſame in hir name ; wherof ye ſall geue hir maiſt harty thankis in our behalf, and ſay vnto hir, that we deſyre nathing to be done therin, bot at hir beſt commoditie and leaſt charges ; preing hir alwayes, that the principall man that it may pleiſe hir to ſend, be ſic a ane as we haue knawen be lang experience to haue bene maiſt tender and famylier with hir ; to whom we may the mair frely oppen and ſignify dyuers thingis, quhilkis we intendit to haue ſpoken be mouth vnto hir ſelf, gene God had granted our deſyred meating. As concernyng Oneill, Ruxbe, and all vther matters, we hope that Meſter Killygrew ſall ſatiſſie hir ſufficiently ; and alſo how that we deſyre to haue na aduancement in that contre, bot be hir only meanis and help, hoping and intending ſa to direct our courſe and behauour towardis hir, as ſche ſall haue cauſe more and more to procure ernestly and cairfully hir ſelf, all thingis that may forder our weill and aduancement in this contre, that contre, or any vther. In the quhilk eſperance, we will do our beſt to folow ſic thingis as may pleaſe hir, and to ſle and forbear ſic as may offend hir ; with our maiſt ſtrait command vnto yow to do the lyk at your power, ſa lang as ye remain ther, and wher euer ye be in our ſeruice, euen as I gaif yow commandement of before. Nevertheles in the mean tym, that ye enterten y ſa frendly and diſcretly as ye can, all thais of that contre as profeſſis to bear gud will vnto us and to our title ; yet in ſic

P. 89. fort as nether ye nor they offend the Quen our gud fiſter. And gene ther chance to com vnto yow any haifty or ſeditious perſones, admoniſch them gently to ceis ; and gene they will not, ſchaw vnto them that our courſe and promyſe is ſic with the Quen, that ye mon nedeſ declair ther

how I beleuit that the gretter multitude of frendis that fche had con-  
kiffit in England, fuld haue caufed hir forget in Scotland the leffer  
number of ennemys and vnrewly offenders, vnworthy of hir wraith ;  
and that hir excellent qualites in clemency, temperance and fortitud,  
fuld not fuffer hir mynd to be fuppreft with the remembrance of tha  
vill turnis ; bot rather to bend vp her engyn be a prencely and womanly  
behauour, wherby fche may beft wone the hartis of the haille people and  
fubiectis, baith heir at hame and a feild ; humbly requesting hir Maiefte,  
firft to confult with hir God, nyxt with hir honnour, and thridly with  
hir weill, in the eftabliffing of hir eftait, and in junyng the kingdommes  
of gret Bretagne in a happy monarchye, quhilk fche knawes to be fa  
neir a point to be brocht to pafs in hir perfoun ; feing alfo the baniffit  
eftait of the offenders fa miserable, not having a holl to hyd ther head  
intill, nor a penny to by ther denner, that the maift noble natures wald  
almaift think them fufficiently puniffit. How feamly it is till a Quen  
to be pitifull, and a woman to want vengeance, I wald report to hir  
awen jugement ; “and whither it be meter prefently for your honour  
and gretnes, to ceis fra the defyre or perfut of any farther reuenge,  
whervpon may enfew maa difpaired enterpryfes, or to geue plaice vnto  
neceffite and raifown, to reull ouer the beaftly paffions of the mynd.

P. 90. Wherefore ar princes callit diuyn perfonnes ? Na prince may be callit  
deuyn, bot fic as draw neir vnto the nature of God, be godlynes, gud  
gouernement, redy to forgeue, and flaw to puneis. It is manifetly  
knewen, that all wyfe princes haue na feud at ther ennemys, langer  
then they fe it may be neidfull for the weill of ther affaires and eftait,  
and can chenge ther fauour and hattrent, according to the tym and oc-

caſions. Your Maieſte may remember, that many thingis mycht haue bene better handlit. I ſpeak this with loue and reuerence ; your Maieſte mycht bene afweill obeyed as euer was any king of Scotland, gene ye had tane ſic princely cair as was requiſit. Your Maieſte knawes, how that be your awen expreſs commandement, I ſchew yow lang before, what inconvenientis wer lyk to fall out, vpon the gruges and apperances that I perſault, before the ſlauchter of Daid, and did what lay in my poſſibilite, as God is my witnes, how to cauſe them be eſchewed and prevented ; and ſen fyn, your Maieſte repented that my oppinion for the tym was not folowed. I prey God that the lyk repentance fall not out ouer lait again. At my being in England, your aduerſaries wer beginnen to mak ther vantage, vpon vain bruitis that our weſterly wyndis had blawen eaſt among them, that my brother and I had anough a do to ding it out of the headis of dyuers, that wer diuotiously addicted to the aduancement of your title.

This commonyng began at the entre of hir ſupper, in hir ear in Frenche, when ſche was caſten gret fiches, and wald not eat for na perſuaſion that my lordis of Murrey and Mar culd mak hir. The ſupper being endit, hir Maieſte tok me be the hand, and paſt down throw the park of Stirling, and cam vp throw the town, euer raiſonyng with me vpon thir purpoſes. And albeit ſche tok hardly with them at the firſt, ſche began till alter hir mynd, and think meit that my L. of Bedford ſuld mak ſut for hir rebellis ; they to be baniffit out of England and Scotland during hir plefour, and to be better vnto them with tym, according to ther deportementis. And for hir part, ſche purpoſit to proceed with ſic a gracious gouernement, as mycht wone the victory ouer

hir felf, and all hir compeditours and ennemys in tymes commyng ; as fche had done at hir firft hamecommyng, and quhilk fche culd do as weill as any prince or princes in Europe.

Bot allace fche had ouer euell company about hir for the tym. The Erle Bodowell had a mark of his awen that he fchot at. Sa fchone as he vnderftod of hir wyfe and marcifull deliberation, he tok occaſion to be the inbringer of the Erle of Mortoun and his affociatis, to mak them his frendis and to fortifie his faction be them ; for apperantly he had then alredy in his mynd, to perfourm the foull mourthour of the King, quhilk he pat in execuſſion efterwart, that he mycht marry the Quen. Quhilk baith he brocht till paſs, to his awen vtter wrak and confuſion ; and brocht on alfo gret trouble and miſcheif into the contre, and was the Quenis wrak at the laſt, and the hendrance of all our hope, in the haſty obteanyng of all hir deſyres concernyng the crown of England, for a tym.

P. 91. The Quenis Maieſte being aduertift, that the Erle of Bedford was com to Barwick, that far agaitwart to com fordwart to the baptifme, fend me, weill accompanied, with deligence to meit hym at Codingame ; to be his firft convoy, and to inform him richtly of all hir proceedingis, and to ouerthrow all euell bruitis invented be the malice of hir ennemys ; all this of my awen head, be way of the lang familiarite that was betwen him and me. For as I haue ſaid, it wes a paruerfit tym, and the mair that the number of hir frendis increaffit in England, the ma practyſes hir ennemys maid, and the monyer lyes they invented againſt hir. Sa that the gud erle gaif me mair credit, than he did any wrang report that was maid ; and was at this tym becom ane of the ſureſt and maiſt loving frendis that fche had in England. Ther cam



with him Mester Caro, eldest sone to my L. of Hunifdaine, Mester Hattoun, gretest in fauour with the Quen of England for the tym, and ane callit Mester Ligniche, of all vther gretest in fauour with the Duc of Northfolk, and a gud number of knyghtis and gentilmen of Yorkschyre, with the maist part of the captens of Barwick. Hir Maieste was sufficiently informed, be my brothers wrettingis to hir and me, what kynd of langage and enterenement was meatest to be vsed and halden to the erle, Mester Caro, Mester Hattoun, and Mester Ligniche.

And when all the rest of the ambassadours wer com, they enuyed to se the Englis men mair frendly and famylierly vsed than they; for then sche had mair ado with England than with France, and the Frenche erle that was sent was na courteour, bot a semple man; and Mons<sup>r</sup> de Morat the Duc of Scauoyes his ambassadour, being far aff, cam efter the baptisme. During ther being in Stirling, ther wes daily banketing, dancing, and triumphe; and at the principall banket ther fell out ane gret eylest and gruge among the Englis men; for a Frenchman callit Bastien deuysed a number of men formed lyk fattyres, with lang tailes and whippis in ther handis, runnyng befor the meit, quhilk wes brocht throw the gret hall vpon ane trym engyn, marching as apperit it alain, with musiciens clothed lyk maidins, playing vpon all fortis of instrumentis and finging of musick. Bot the fattyers wer not content only to red rown, bot pat ther handis behind them to ther tailes, quhilkis they waggit with ther handis, in sic fort as the Englismen supponit it had bene deuysed and done in derision of them, daftly apprehending that quhilk they fuld not seam to haue vnderstand. For Mester Hattoun, Mester Ligniche, and the maist part of the gentilmen desyred to sowp before the Quen and gret banket, that they mycht se the better the haill ordour and cerimonies of the triumphe; bot fa

ſchone as they ſaw the ſattires waging ther tailles or romples, they all ſet down vpon the bair flure behind the bak of the burd, that they ſuld not ſee them ſelues ſcornit, as they thoct. Meſter Hattoun ſaid vnto me, gif it wer not in the Quenis preſens and hall, he ſuld put a dagger to the hart of that Frenche knaif Baſtien, whom he allegit did it for diſpyt, that the Quen maid mair of them then of the Frenchemen. I excuſed the matter the beſt I mycht, bot the rumour was ſa gret behind the Quenis bak wher hir Maieſte ſat, and my L. of Bedford, that they hard and turnit about ther faces to wit what the matter menit. I ſchew them how that it was for the ſattiers ; ſa that the Quen and my L. of Bedford had baith anough ado to get them ſatiſfied. It fell out vnhappely at ſic a tym, and the Engliſ gentill men committed a gret errour to ſeem till vnderſtand it as done againſt them ; bot my L. of Bedford was diſcret, and interpret all thingis to the beſt.

P. 92. My L. of Bedford was rewardit with a riche chaingge of dyamontis, worth twa thouſand crownis ; Meſter Caro with a chaingge of perle, and a ring with a fair dyamont ; Meſter Hattoun had a chain with hir Maieſteis picture and a ring ; Meſter Lignynce and fyve vther of qualite had all chaines. I wes commandit with many vthers to convoy them to the bound rod, and parted all very weill content and ſatiſfied with the Quenis Maieſte, bot lamented that they ſaw ſa litle accompt maid of the King ; and my Lord of Bedford deſyred me to requeſt hir Maieſte, to interteny him as ſche had done at the beginning, for hir awen honnour and aduancement of hir affaires ; quhilk I forget not to do at all occaſions.

+ Efter the baptiſme and parting of the ambaffadours, hir Maieſte willing to put gud ordour vpon the borders, ſent the Erle Bodowell befor

wha in the chaise efter theues was hurt. Hir Maieſte paſt efterwart to Jedbrouch hir ſelf, wher the Erles of Bodowell and Huntly enterpryſed the ſlauchter of the Erle of Murrey ; bot the Lord Hum cam ther with forces, and preuented that enterpryſe. Hir Maieſte returnit be the Merſe, and deſyred to ſe Barwik a far aff, wher ſche was honored with many ſchottis of arteillerie ; and Sir Jhon Foſter warden vpon the Engliſ border cam ther, and conferrit with hir Maieſte for keping of gud ordour. In the mean tym that he was ſpeaking with hir Maieſte vpon horſbak, his curſour raiſe vp with his forther legges, to tak the Quenis horſe be the nek with his teeth, bot his forder feet hurt hir Maieſteis thy very euell. Incontinent the warden leighted aff his horſe, and ſat down vpon his knees, craving pardone at hir grace ; for then all England bure hir Maieſte gret reuerance. Hir Maieſte maid him to ryſe, and ſaid that ſche was not hurt ; yet it compellit hir Maieſte to tary twa dayes at the caſtell of Hum, vntill ſche was weill again. The K. folowed hir about wher ſche raid, getting na gud contenance ; and therefore he paſt to Glaſco, where he fell ſeak for diſpleaſour, as was allegit, not without ſome bruit of ane il drink be ſome of his ſeruandis.

In the mean tym the Erle Bodowell rewled all in court, and brocht hame ſome of the baniſſit lordis, and packit vp a quyet frendſchip with the Erle Mortoun. Efter that hir Maieſte cam bak till Edenbrough, ſche renewed a frendſchip again betwen the Erle of Murray, Bodowell, Huntly, Argyll and vthers. Fra that, hir Maieſte paſt to Stirling to ſe the prince, and returnit again to Edenbrough ; wher the K. was efterwart brocht and logit in the kirk of feild, as a plaice of gud ayre wher he mycht beſt recouer his health ; bot many

ane suspected that the Erle Bodowell had some enterpryse against him. Few durft aduertise him, because he tald all again to some of his awen seruandis, wha wer not all honest. Yet my L. Robert Erle of Orkeney tald him, that gene he faired not himself haiftely out of that part, it wald coist him his lyf; quhilk he tald again to the Quen, and my L. Robert denyed that euer he spak it. This aduertissement moued the Erle Bodowell to haift fordwart his enterpryse, and maid a train of pouder, or had maid ane of before, quhilk cam vnder the house wher the K. lay; and in the nycht blew vp the said house with the pouder. Bot it was spoken be a paige, that the K. was first tane fourth, and brocht down to a laich stable, wher a saruyet was stopped in his mouth, and smored be halding in of his end, and efterwart laid vnder a tre, and blew vp the house.

- P. 93. Every body suspected the Erle Bodowell, and they that mycht speak frely till vther said plainly that it was he. Whervpon he drew together a number of lordis to be a led assyse, wha clengit him, some for fear, and some for fauour, and the maist part for commoditie. This way being maid clean, he remanit still at court in gretest fauour. My L. of Murray was retirit from the court certane dayes of before. Hir Maieste kepit hir chamber for a quhill. I cam to the chamber dur, the nyxt mornyng efter the mourther. The Erle Bodowell said, that hir Maieste was sorowfull and quyet; for he cam fourth, and tald he saw the strangest accident that ever chancit, to wit the foudur cam out of the lust, and had brunt the Kingis house, and him self found lying dead a litle distance from the house vnder a tre; and willit me to ga vp and se hym, how that ther was not a hurt nor a mark in all his body. When I past ther to haue sean him, he was layed within a

euen the lyk langage that my L. Heres had spoken, bot mair frely, because he was absent in another contre. He adiured me to schaw the said letter vnto hir Maieste, declairing how it was bruted in England, that hir Maieste was to mary the Erle Bodowell, wha was the murtherer of hir husband, another wyues husband ; a man full of reproch and grangoir, with many vther reproches that he allegit ; quhilke bruitis he wald not beleue, be raisone of hir noble wit and qualites, and of the honorable mark that sche schot at : And incaice sche married hym, sche wald tyn the fauour of God, hir awen reputation, the kingdomes England, Yreland and Scotland ; with many vther dissuasions and exemples of histories, quhilkis wald be our lang to reherse. I had bene absent, and past to the court to schaw this letter vnto hir Maieste, protesting that sche wald tak it in a gud part.

P. 94. Efter that hir Maieste had red the said wreting, sche gaif it to me again, without any mair speach ; bot callit vpon the secretary Liddingtoun, and said to him that I had schawen hir a strange wreting, willing him also to se it. He askit what it culd be. Sche said, a deuyce of his awen, tending only to the wrak of the Erle Bodowell. He tok me be the hand and drew me apart to see the said wreting ; and when he had red it, he askit what was in my mynd ; and said, " Sa schone as the Erle Bodowell getis word, as I fear he sall, he will not fail to slei you." I sayed, it was a fair matter to se that gud princes run till vtter wreck, and nobody to foirwarn hir. He said, that I had done mair honestly nor wyfely. " I pray you," said he, " retire you with diligence, before the Erle Bodowell com vp fra his denner." Hir Maieste tald him at the first meting, with a condition that he fuld not do me any harm ; bot I was flowen, and was socht, bot culd not be

A litle before this, my L. of Murray had defyred liscence to pass in France. The secretery Liddingtoun had bene lang in suspition absent from court, and was brocht in again be my brother Sir Robertis persuation, for the gret credit and handling he had with many noble men in England, fauorers of hir Maiesteis title. Albeit that he had als gret credit and moyen him self, he wald therby eschew the maners of ambitious courteurs, wha wald haue all the thankis to them selues, and may not suffer a compaignion; he knew also that he was suspected, because the Erle Bodowell was his vnfrend. Alwayes he was brocht in again, and not lang efter, the Erle Bodowell thocht to

P. 95. haue slane him in the Quenis chamber, wer not that hir Maieste cam betwen and saued him; bot he fled the nyxt day, and taried with the Erle of Atholl. As for me, I taried not at court bot now and then; yet I chancit to be ther at the mariage. When I cam that tym to the court, I fand my L. Duc of Orkeney sitting at his supper. He said, I had bene a gret stranger; desyring me to sit down and soup with him. The Erle of Huntly, the Justice Clark and dyuers vthers wer fitten at the table with him. I said that I had alredy souped. Then he callit for a coup of wyn and drank to me, that I mycht plege him, lyk a Dutcheman. He bad me drink it out till grow fatter, "for," said he, "the zeall of the commoun weall has eaten you vp, and maid you fa lean." I answerit, that euery litle member fuld serue to some vse; bot that the cair of the commoun weill appertenit maist till him and the rest of the nobilite, wha fuld be as fathers to the same. Then he said, I wist weill he wald find a pin for euery boir. Then he fell in purpos of gentilwemen, speaking sic filthy langage, that [I] left him and past vp to the Quen, wha was very glaid of my commyng.

The mariage was maid in the palice of Halyrudhouse, at a preach-

Whervpon I tok occasioun at my retoune  
with Sir James Balfour not to part with the castell ; wherby  
be ane instrument to saif the Prince, to saif the Quen, wha was sa dif-  
danfully handlit, and with sic reprochefull langage, that Arthour Askin  
and I being present, hard her ask a knyf to stik hirself, "or elis," said sche,  
" I fall drown my self." Now said I to Sir James Balfour, that ther was  
na surete for him to be out of suspitioun, but to kep the castell in his awen  
handis, and to be that gud instrument to saif baith Quen and Prince, in  
P. 96. assisting the nobilitie wha wer about to crown the Prince, and to persue  
the Erle Bodowell for the Kingis mourther. And without he tok part  
with them therintill, he wald be halden as airt and part of the said  
mourther, be raisoun of his lang famyliarite with the Erle Bodowell ;  
and that it was a happy thing for him, that the said Erle was becom  
in suspitioun of him ; assuring hym that I had intelligence, be ane that  
was of the Erle Bodowellis conseill, to wit, the lard of Whitlaw, for  
the tym capten of the castell of Dumbar, that the Erle Bodowell was  
determinit to tak the castell of Edenbrough fra him, and mak the lard  
of Benstoun, Hebrown, capten therof, and then to put the Prince ther  
in his keping.

Sir James Balfour gaif ear incontinent to my proposition, and con-  
sented to help to persue the mourtheror with the rest, sa that the  
lard of Grange wald promyse to be his protectour, incaice the nobi-  
lite mycht alter vpon him ; for he and many of them had run con-  
trary courses of before, sa that he durst not credit them. The Erle  
of Mar being aduertist heirof be his brother Alexander Askin, wha  
was trew and cairfull for the Prince saiffete, and cam secretly to me at  
midnycht ; for the dayes wer dangerous for all honest men. Now my

wer haifted fordwart to tak armes ; and in the mean tym they obligit them felues be ther handis wretis, quhilk they delyuerit vnto the faid Mons' du Croc, to fend vnto the K. his maifter, that they fuld do ther vttermaift diligence to try out the authours of that foull mourther of ther King ; and in the mean tym convenit to the number of thre thouſand men, and cam firſt till Edenbrough, and ther ſet out a proclamation of ther juſt quarell. Alſo findre lybelis wer ſet out, baith in rym and proiſe, pitifull and perſwaſywe, to moue the hartis of the haill ſubiectis to aſſiſt and tak part with ſa gud a cauſe. The Erle Bodowell again, having the Quen in his company, convenit a greter number out of the Merſe and Lowdien, and out of all partis wher he

P. 97. had moyen or frendſchip, at ouer hir Maieſteis proclamation, quhilk was not weill obeyed for the tym ; and ſa many as cam, had na hartis to feicht in that quarell. Yet the Erle Bodowell marched fordwart out of Dombar, taking the Quen with him, towardis Edenbrough. The Lordis again, with ther companyes, paſt out of Edenbrough vpon fut, with a gret ernestnes and fercenes to fecht ; baith the armyes not far fra Carbarry. The Erle Bodowelis men camped vpon the hill head, in a ſtrenth very aduantageous ; the lordis camped at the fut of the hill.

Albeit hir Maieſte was ther, I can not name it to be hir armye, for many of them that wer with hir, had oppinion that ſche had intelligence with the lordis ; cheifly ſic as vnderſtod of the Erle Bodowelis miſhandling of hir, and many indignitez that he had baith ſaid and done vnto hir, ſen ther mariage was maid. He was ſa beaſtly and ſuſpicious, that he ſufferit hir not to paſs ouer a day in patience, on making hir cauſe to ſched aboundance of ſalt teares. Sa part of his awen company deteſted him ; vther part beleued that hir Maieſte



wald fayn haue bene quyt of him, bot thocht schame to be the doer therof directly hir felf.

In the mean tym the lard of Grange raid about the bra, with a tua hundreth horfmen that cam ther with Dromlenerick, Ceffurd and Codonknowes, thinking to be betwen the Erle Bodowell and Dobar; and was myndit to mak ane onfet that way that was plain and euen, in the mean tym, that the lordis fuld com vp the bra, to the part wher ther aduerfaris wer camped. When the Quen vnderftod that the lard of Grange was cheif of that company of horfmen, fche fend the lard of Ormeftoun to defyre hym to com and fpeak with hir, vnder furete; quhilk he did, efter he had fend and obtenit leawe of the lordis. As he was fpeaking with hir Maiefte, the Erle Bodowell had apponted a foldiour to fchut him, vntill the Quen gaif a cry, and faid that he fuld not do her that schame, wha had promyfed that he fuld com and return faifly. For he was declairen vnto the Quen, how that all they wald honour and ferue hir, fa that fche wald abandon the Erle Bodowell, wha was the mourtherer of hir awen husband; and culd not be a husband vnto hir, that had bot laitly married the Erle of Huntleis fifter.

The Erle Bodowell harkenit and hard part of this langage, and offerit the fingular combat to any man that wald mentean that he had done it. The lard of Grange promyfed to fend him ane anfwer fchortly theranent. Sa he tok his leawe at the Quen, and paff down the bra to the lordis; wha wer content that the lard of Grange fuld feicht with him in that quarell, for he offerit hym felf firft, and fend vp word that he wald chelenge him and feicht with him in that quarell. The Erle Bodowell anfwerit, that he was nother lord nor erle, bot a barroun, and fa culd not be his

pere. The lyk anſwer he maid to Tullibarden. Then my L. Lyndſay offerit to feicht him, quhilk he culd not planly refuſe, bot his hart cauldit ay the langer the mair. Then the Quen ſent again for the lard of Grange, and ſaid to him, that gene the lordis wald do as he had ſpoken to hir, ſche ſuld put away the Erle Bodowell and com vnto them. Wherupon he aſked at them, gif he mycht promyſe it to hir Maieſte in ther name; quhilk they willit him to do. Then he raid vp again, and ſaw the Erle Bodowell part, and cam down again, and affured the lordis therof; whom they deſyred to paſs vp again to the hill, and reſaue hir Maieſte; wha met hym, and ſaid, "Lard of Grange, I render me vnto you, vpon the conditions ye rehearſit vnto me in the names of the lordis;" and gaif him her hand, quhilk he kiſſit, and led hir Maieſte be the brydill doun the bra vnto the lordis, wha cam ford-wart and met hir; the noblemen vſing all dewtyfull reuerence, bot ſome of the rafcallis cryed out diſpytfully, till the lard of Grange drew his ſwerd, and ſa did ſome vthers that knew ther dewtie better, and ſtraik at ſic as ſpak vnreuerent langage, quhilk the nobilite allowed weill of.

Hir Maieſte was that nycht convoyed to Edenbrough, and logit in the midis of the toun, in the proueftis logging. As ſche cam throw the toun, the commoun people cryed out againſt her Maieſte at the windowes and ſtaires, quhilk was a pitie to heir. Hir Maieſte again cryed out, to all gentilmen and vthers that paſſed vp and down the caſſay, declairing how that ſche was ther natywe princes, and douted not bot all honeſt ſubiectis wald reſpect hir as they aucht to do, and not ſuffer hir to be miſhandlit. Vthers again ſchew ther malice, in ſetting vp a banere or enſeigne, whervpon the K. was painted lying dead vnder a

tre, and the yong prince sitting vpon his knees, preing, " Juge and reuenge my cause, O Lord."

That fame nycht, it was allegit that hir Maieſte wret a lettre vnto the Erle Bodowell, and promyſed a reward to ane of hir kepers, to ſe it ſurely convoyed to Dombar vnto the ſaid Erle; calling him hir dear hart, whom ſche ſuld never forget nor abandoun for abſens, and that ſche ſend him away only for his ſaffetie, willing him to be confortd, and to be vpon his gardis; quhilk wreting the lown de-lyuerit vnto the lordis, efter he had promyſed to do the contraire. Vpon the quhilk lettre, the lordis tok occaſion to ſend hir to Loch-leuen to be kept, againſt promyſe as ſche allegit; and they again affirmyng, that be hir awen hand wret ſche had declaired that ſche had not, nor wald not, leaue nor abandoun the Erle Bodowell. Grange again excuſed her, alleging that ſche had left the ſaid Erle in effect, and that it was no meruell that ſche gaif him yet a few fair wordis; not dowting bot ſche being diſcretly handled, and humbly admoniſſit what inconvenientis that man had brocht vpon hir, ſche wald leaue him be degrees, and deteſt him or it wer lang. They ſaid again, that it ſtod them vpon the ſurete of ther lyues and landis; and when that tym cam, that ſche mycht be knawen to abandoun and deteſt the Erle Bodowell, it wald be tym then to raiſoun vpon the matter. Grange was yet ſa angry that, wer not that lettre, he had left them inſtantly; and for the nyxt beſt, vſed all poſſible deligence to mak hir and them baith quyt of the ſaid Erle; cauſing mak redy twa ſchippis till folow efter the Erle Bodowell, wha was firſt fled to the Caſtell of Dombar, and fra that failed to Schetland.

Some ſuſpectit this lettre to bene in-vented.

In the mean tym, hir Maieſte ſend a wreting vnto the Lard of Grange, out of Locheleuen, lamentyng that promyſe was broken vnto

hir; wherunto he answerit, that he had alredy reprochit the lordis for the same; wha schew vnto him a wretting, sent be hir vnto the Erle Bodowell, promyng amang many vther fair and comfortable wordis, neuer till abandoun nor forget him. Quhilk gif it was wreten be hir Maieste, as he culd skaircely beleue, it had stopped his mouth; merueling, that hir Maieste considerit not, how that the said Erle culd not be hir lawfull husband, being sa laitly before married with another, that he had left without any cause of partiffing, albeit he wer not sa hatted for the mourthour of the K. hir husband; requesting hir Maieste to put hym clean out of hir mynd, or elis sche wald neuer get the loue and obedience of hir subiectis; with many vther humble and loving admonitions, quhilk maid hir bitterly to weep; for sche culd not do it sa hastily, quhilk lenth of tyme brocht till pasa.

P. 99. Now the Lard of Grange tua schippis being in a redines, he maid sail towardis Orkeney; and na man was sa frak to accompany hym as the Lard of Tullibardin, and Adam Bodowell Bischop of Orkeney. Bot the Erle was fled from Orkeney to Schetland; wher also they folowed him, and cam in sicht of Bodowelis schip; quhilk moued the Lard of Grange to defyre the skyppers to heis vp all ther sailes, quhilk they wer laith to do, because they knew the schallow ground therabout. Bot Grange willing to com a tyme, compellit the mariners; sa that for ouer gret haift, the schip wherin Grange was, brak vpon a bed of sand, without tincell of a man. Bot Bodowell had leaser in the mean tyme to saif himself in a litle boit, leaving his schip behind him; quhilk Grange tok, and therewith the Lard of Tallow, Jhon Hebroun of Bowtown, Dagleis and dyuers vthers of the said Erlis seruandis. Him self fled to Denmark, wher he was tane and keped in strait presone, wherin he becam mad and died miserably. Bot Grange cam bak again with Bodowelis

et illicites, reduicte en la puissance du principal meurtrier. Nous auons a la longue este contrainctz, pour purger le royaume de ceste ignominie publique, de nous mettre ensemble, avec intention de descouvrir les auteurs et executeurs dudict meurtre. Enquoy dieu nous a si bien fauorise, qu'encores que lon auoit dresse la menee fort secretement, si nous est a ceste heure le fait assez entendu, de fort quil ne sen faut plus enquerir qui a tue le roy. Car entre beaucoup des presumptions, et circonstances vehementes, que des le commencement rendoit le conte de Bodowelle assez suspect, et que ses deportements depuis ce temps la estoient bastants pour donner a entendre a vn chascun quil auoit dresse le party ; nous sommes maintenant plus esclairez par la confession de ses gens mesmes, qui dieu nous a mis entre les mains, et qui pour lauoir fuyuy accompaignie et assiste au fait, en peuuent bien deposer de la verite, et des circonstances. Par le tesmoignage desquelz, joinct avec d'autres preuues, il est tout notour que le dict Conte de Bothuelle non seulement a faict la menee, mais aussy pour mieux jouer son personnage, et de peur de faillire, luy mesmes a assiste en personee, y a mis la main, et este present a lexecution.

“ Des occurrences de puis, et comme le tout est passee, vostre ambassadeur Mons<sup>r</sup> du Croc pourra plus amplement aduertir vostre Maieste, comme celluy qui pour estre employe pourvostre seruice pardeça, nous auons voulu infourmer au long de la justice de nostre cause. Supplians tres humblement vostre Maieste, de prendre en bonne part nostre resolution, fondee sur tant des causes legitimes, et ne vous laisser persuader a ceux qui, pour laffection quilz portent au meurtrier, voudront peut estre deprouuer noz actions, et vous donner a entendre que nous aspirons a des choses a quoy nous ne y auons jamais pensee. Quant a

nous, vostre Maïeste se pourra bien assurer, que nous ne ferons jamais que le debuoir des gens de bien, et quil ne y a subiects en Escosse qui, de meilleur coeur, l'efforceront de tant qui sera en nostre puissance, et selon le moyen que dieu nous a donnee, de seruir a vostre Maïeste, et de conseruer l'union des deux coronnes, que si longue temps a continue au grand profit et feurete de toutes les deux ; comme nous ferons toujours paroistre par effect, quand vostre Maïeste nous fera ceste honneur de nous commander quelque chose pour son seruice."

P. 101. My Lord of Murray had obtenit liscence to pass in France, shortly after the murder of the K. ; for he foresaw the great troubles that were able to fall out upon the same ; for he had promised never to come in the Queen's contrary.

The rest of the Lords enterprisers, after that they had put the Queen in Lochleven, began to consult how to get her Majesty persuaded to submit the government to the Prince her son ; and to that effect they dealt first with my brother, because he had access some times to see her Majesty. After that he had refused flatly to meddle in that matter, they were myndit to send the L. Lindsay, first to use faire persuasions, and in case he came na speed, to enter in harder termes. The Earls of Atholl, Mar, and secretary Liddington, and the lord of Grange, who loved her, advised my brother to tell her the verity, and how that any thing that she did in prison, can not prejudice her, being at liberty. He said, he would not persuade her, nor speak nothing but as her true and faithful servant ; always, he said, he would tell her the opinion of as many as were her friends. But she refused utterly till follow their advice therewith ; but when she heard that the Lord Lindsay was at the

new house, and was upon a boisting humour, sche yeldit to the necessity of the tym, and schew my brother that sche wald not strywe with them, feing it culd do hir na harm when sche was at libertie. Sa at my L. Lindsays commyng, sche subscrywit the signatour of renunciation and demission of the gouvernement to the Prince; and certane lordis wer named in the said signatour, to be regentis to the Prince and contre, euery ane efter vther; hir Maieste desyring my L. of Murray, wha was absent in France, to be the first regent.

This being past, the lordis concludit to crown the Prince; and send lettres in France for the Erle of Murray to com hame. In the mean tym, ther was a number of lordis convenit at Hamiltoun, as my L. Hamiltoun, my Lord of Pacely, Jhon Hamiltoun bischop of Santandrowes, my L. Flemyng and Boid, and vthers dyuers. To whom the lordis that wer to crown the Prince wald haue send me; quhilk commiffion I refused at the first, till the secretary Liddingtoun, lard of Grange, and vthers secret fauorers of the Quen, aduysed me to tak in hand; alleging that it was meit to jun all the contre together in quyetnes, and said that incaice that ciuell warres entret amang our felues, that it wald put the Quenis lyf in danger; for they that wer at Hammiltoun, apperit to lean unto the Quen. At my commyng to Hammiltoun, I tald them my commiffion, in the name of the vther lordis; how that the K. being mourtherit, all nations nybours cryed out vpon the haill nation, bot specially the K. of France and Quen of England admoniffit them to tak tryell and to punis the mourtherers. How they had found that it was the Erle Bodowell, wha was fled, and some of them that had assisted him punissed; and what was past sen syn therupon, was manifest to the haill contre. Now the Quenis Maieste had demitted ouer the

gouvernement to the Prince hir sone, whom they wer myndit to crown schortly ; wherof they thocht meit to warn all the nobilite, as being myndit to hurt na man, nor to prejugé any nobleman in ther rychtis, tytles, or prerogatyues ; requesting them that wer ther conuenit, to com to Sterling and be present at the said coronation, for ther awen preueleges, weill and quyetnes of the haill contre.

P. 102 Some of the yongest lordis answerit and said, that they wald not beleue that the Quenis Maieste had demitted the gouvernement ; and gene sche had done it, it wald be found for fear of her lyf. Bot the bischop, that was better experiment, reproued them, and said that it was a very raisonable and discret dealing of tha noblemen ; and drew the rest apart till aduysé, and then cam again ; and he declaired ther answer and said.

“ We ar behalden to tha noble men wha has sent you with that frendly and discret commissioun ; and folowing ther desyre, ar redy to concure with them, gif they mak us sufficient securite of that quhilk ye haue said in ther name. In sa doing, they geue us occasioun to suppon the best of all ther proceedingis past and to com ; sa that gene they had maid us foirfean of ther first enterpryse, to the punisshement of the mourther, we suld haue tane plane part with them. And wheras now we ar heir conuenit, it is not till persew or offend any of them ; bot to be vpon our awen gardis, vnderstanding of sa gret a concoursse of noblemen, barrons, bourroues and vthers subiectis. Not being maid preuy to ther enterpryse, we thocht meit to draw us togither, till we mycht se whertu thingis wald turn.”

When I returnit bak to Stirling, and declaired the answer, quhilk was thocht very gud be all wyse and paiceable myndit men ; bot vthers said again, that howeuer they myndit to do, I had panted out a faire



taill for them and in ther fauours. Sa that I persauit them alreedy deuydit in factions and in oppinions; for samany of our lordis as leanit to England, desyred not the stabilitie of our estait; others had particulairs againt the Hammiltouns, and supponit to get them wraked, therby to won vantages be fisching in dromly watters. Sa that the Hammiltouns wer euell vfed then; for they wald fayn have agreed with the rest, bot ther frendschip and societe was planly refused at this tym, and wer not admitted to com vnto the coronation, nor yet to tak instrumentis that they fuld not be prejued in any fort; quhilk maid gret trouble efterwart in the contre. For they persaving them selues casten aff, and ther frendschip and assistance refused, maid the moyen and practiques that they mycht, for ther awen surete and deffence; and sic vther noblemen as fauored them, and wer not yet junit with the new enterpryses, wer the easelyer drawen vpon that fyd, that wer efterwart callit the Quenis lordis, when they vnderstod of sic disdainfull proceeding with the Hammiltouns.

My Lord of Murray, wha was wreten for to com hame, as I haue fayed, sa schone as he cam to Londoun, aduertisment was maid vnto the lordis; wha desyred me to ryd and meit him at Berwik, and schaw him how that the office of regency was appointed for hym. Quhilk voyage I accepted with the better will, that some frendis that wer best inclynit, thocht meit to geue him gud counsaill in dew tym. The commission fra the lordis was to inform him of all ther proceedingis, and of the present estait; and to will him do nathing by them, specially with the Quen. For they fearit that he wald do, as any vther wyse man wald haue done, in respect that he had not offendit the Quen of lait, that he mycht parchance keip hir in hand, in gud hope some day

He was fend to se the fassion, to confort the Quen captywe, and to request for hir ; bot slenderly, for he said to the lordis, that he cam not till offend any of them ; alleging that the auld band betwen France and Scotland, was not packit vp with any a prince, bot betwen the estaitis of France and Scotland, and with them that wer commanders ouer the contre for the tym.

Efter that my L. of Murray had met with all his frendis, he granted to accept the regyment. Bot when he past to se the Quen in Locheluen, in steid to confort hir, and to folow the gud consaill that he had gottin, he entrit instantly with hir Maieste in reproches, and sic injurious langage as was lyk to brek hir hart ; and sa many of us as fand falt with that maner of proceeding, tint his fauour. The injuries wer sic, that it cutted the thred of loue and credit betwen the Quen and hym for euer.

Ye haue hard how that the lordis that wer in Hamilton wer casten aff, and refused to be accepted in societie with the rest, against the oppinion of the fewest nomber, wysest men and least factious. Bot the worst inclynit and manyest votes obteanit ther intentis ; wherupon the lordis that wer refused in frendschip, drew them selues together at Dombartan, vnder the coulour to procure be force of armes the Quen ther foueranis libertie ; and bandit them selues together against the Kingis lordis, whilk they wald not haue done, gif they culd haue bene accepted in societe with the rest.

P. 104. Albeit that, the publik professing of the saidis lordis to wair all ther lyues for the Quenis liberte, pat hir Maiesteis lyf in greter danger sa lang as sche was captywe in the handis of ther contrair partie, and at lenth was hir Maiesteis vtter wrak. For the hope that sche had to get

frendis and fauourers anew, causet her mak hir moyen to eschaip outt of Lochleuen ouer hastely, or euer the tym was ryp anough to restore again the hartis of the subiectis that wer yet allianit ; for albeit my L. Regent was rygorous, he was facill, and mycht haue bene won with proces of tym be hir wisdome, and the moyen of hir frendis that wer in his company.

THE COPIE OF THE BAND MAID AT DOMBERTAN BE THEM  
THAT WER CALLIT THE QUENIS LORDIS.

“ For famekle as confidering the Quenis Maieſte our ſouerane to be detenit at this preſent in Lochleuen in captiuite, wherthrow the maiſt part of hir Graces lieges can not haue fre acces to hir hyenes for doing of ther leiſfull buſynes, and be raiſoun it becommes us, of our dewty, to ſut hir liberte and fredome ; We erles lordis and barrons vnderſubſcryuit, promittis faithfully to mak our exact diligence, be all raiſonable meanis, to ſut hir Maieſte to be put to liberte and fredome, vpon ſic honeſt conditions as may ſtand with hir hyenes honour, the commoun weill of this haill realm, and ſecurite of the haill nobilite of the ſamyn ; and with the ſecurete of the noblemen wha preſently has hir Maieſte in keping ; wherthrow this our natywe realm may be gouernit, rewled and gydit, be hir Maieſte and hir nobilite, for the commoun quyetnes, adminiſtration of juſtice, and weill of the contre. And incaice the noblemen wha has hir Maieſte preſently in ther handis, refuſes to put hir to liberte, vpon ſic raiſonable meanis and conditions as ſaid is, in that caice we ſall employe our ſelues, our kyn and frendis, ſeruandis and partakers, our bodyes and lyues, to put hir hynes to libertie as ſaid is ; and alſe to concure to the puniſſement of the mourther of

the K. hir Maieſteis huſband, and for fur preſeruation of the perſone of the Prince, as we ſall anſwer to God and on our honours and credit; and to that effect ſall concure, euery ane with vther, at our vtter power. And gene any ſall put at us or any of us for the doing of the cauſes foirlaidis, in that caice we promit faithfully to tak eſauld part, euery ane with vther, vnder the pain of perjurye and infammye, as we will anſwer to God, as ſaid is. In witnes of the quhilkis, we haue ſubſcryuit this preſent with our handis. At Dombartan the day of

St Androwes. Argyll. Huntly. Arbroith. Galloway.  
Roſs. Flemyng. Lord Herys. Skirling. Kilwynnyng.  
Willyem Hammiltoun of Sancher Knycht."

Thir few number wer the firſt that bandit them ſelues together; and efterwartis all them that wer malcontentis, or had any particulair queſtion, clame or feid, with any of the Kingis lordis, drew to thir new confideratis; hoping with tym to won ther intent againſt ther aduerſaries, incaice ther faction mycht preuail; and ſome drew to baith the factions, that deſyred never to ſe nother K. nor Quen in ane eſtabliffit eſtait.

P. 105. The court of England, again, left nathing ondone to kandle the fyre, and to furniſh baith the factions with ſome hope of aſſiſtance in a neid. For oft tymes, by ther ambaffadour ordinair that was reſident heir, they vpon ſome new occaſion wald ſend in another, oppenly to deall with the kingis faction, becauſe it was ſtarkeſt and greteſt; and vnder hand to deall with the Quenis faction, and allege that ther quarrell was maiſt juſt and rycht, and that hir Maieſteis authorite was

only lawfull. Na man can tell this better nor I, that was sa lang acquainted with all the ambassadours that wer send in Scotland for the tym, during ther banissement in France in the tym of Quen Mary ; as with Master Randolphe, Sir Nycholas Througmorton, Mester Dauisoun, Thomvorth, . . . Drury . . . and the Marchall of Barwik. Among the quhilk number, Sir Nycholas Througmorton delt maist honestly and planly ; for he schot at the vnion of this haillyll in ane monarchie, and thocht that it confisted only in the perfones of twa for the tym, to wit, the Quen and King hir sonne. And when he saw Master Randolphe go about to saw discord, he declaired the same to my brother and me, and detested him for his deuellisch intent and dealling. Yea, he detested the haillyll confaill of England for the tym, and tald us frendly what reasonyng they held among them felues to that end ; to wit, how that ane of ther fynest confellours proponit openly to the rest, that it was neidfull for the weilfaire of England, to foster and nurish with some help the ciuill wairres, asweill in France, in Flanders, as in Scotland ; wherby England mycht kep many aduantages, and be futed and focht of all the parties ; and in the mean tym lywe in rest, and gather gret riches them felues. This aduysse and proposition was weill allowed of the maist part of the confaill, yet a honest confellour stod vp, and said that it was a very warldly aduysse, and had litle or nathing ado with a christen commown weall, nor get wald not be found profitabill in all pointis. " First," he said, " speeking warldly and not godly, I grant that France, quhilk is sa potent a kingdome, gene it knew the awen strenth, mycht suppress all ther nybours, and therfore wald be sa handlit ; bot ther the fyre wald dye out incontinent, except the Prince of Conde wer better fourniffit and

helpit." As for Flanders, he said that ther trouble was hurtfull to England, be raisoun that England hes gretest commoditie be the traffic of marchandise, quhilk is henderit and stayd be the warres of Flanders, wher they had cheiffest handling. As for Scotland, he said it was against ther weill to hald them in discention, sa lang as my lord of Murray wes ther Regent, wha was ther frend, and wald be redy to affist them in a neid at his power. Another thrid consellour affirmed that to be trew; bot gene my L. of Murrey wer dead, lykwayes Scotland aucht to be halden gangen. Quhilk concludioun wes communly folowed fourth efterwart; ichone persauit be the wyfist that wer not factious, bot ouer lait be the rest of the raging multitude, wha wer with tym sa bitterit against other, and sa annymat or the pley wes endit, that they wald haue eaten vther with ther teeth.

P. 106. Now my L. of Murray having accepted the gouvernement vpon him, preffit to get the strenthes in his handis, as the castellis of Edenbrough, Dombur and Donbertan. The castell of Edenbrough wes still in the handis of Sir James of Balfour, wha had affisted the noblemen that perseued the mourther, and now tok plane part with them, and lykwayes to affist the new maid Regent. Yet the Regent desyred to haue the castell out of his handis; quhilk he was content, with condition that the lard of Grange suld be maid capten therof, on whais constant frendship he reposed maist; quhilk wes easely granted be the Regent and all the rest. Efter this, Dombur was also renderit to him, be the lardis of Whitlaw and Wachtoun. Then he tok gret panes to steall secret raidis vpon the theues, and held Justice aires in the In contre; bot tok na cair how to fetele the differentis and partialites amang the nobilite, and to draw them, be ane discret and equitable be-

ha uour, to the obedience of the Kingis autorite. Quhilk mycht haue bene easely done, letting them be securete for ther personnes, and outgaitis for the weall of ther affaires and actions. Bot sic as fell about hym, for ambition and gredines, wald not suffer hym sa to do, thinking to be maid vp be the wrak of vthers; and wer sa blindit be ther affections and gredy appetitis, that they thocht all wald succed prosperously to ther pretences without any resistance. Sa rusching forward, the Regentis ruch proceedingis, vncirconspectly and prouydently, gaif occasion to many to draw to the contrair faction; and to mak practyses how to draw the Quenis Maieste out of Lochleuen, before the tym was rype to set forward ther particularites against the Regent and his partisans. Wherof the Regent was oft and dyuers tymes warnit, euen be dyuers that wer vpon the counsaill of hir out taking, wha defyred to won thankis at his handis; bot he wald credit nane, bot sic thingis as com out of the mouthes of them that had copen in his counsaill and fauour be flatterie.

In the mean tym, the Quen was convoyed out of Lochleuen be George Douglas, the lardis brother and the Regentis half brother, wha was for the tym in some euell termes with them. The auld lady his mother was also thocht to be vpon the counsaill. My L. Ceatoun, and some of the house of Hammiltoun, and dyuers vthers of ther dependers, resaut hir Maieste at her landing out of the loch, and convoyed hir to Hammiltoun.

The Regent being for the tym at Glasco halding Justice aires, proclamations and missywes wer incontinent maid, and send be baithe the fydis to conven samany as wald do for them in the contre. Ane Frenche ambassadour wes com to Edenbrough ten dayes before, callit

Mons<sup>r</sup> de Beaumont, knyght of the ordour of the cocle ; who I had conveyed to Glasco, and procured that he mycht se the Quen captywe, in vain. He said to me that he neuer saw sa mony men conuenit sa so-dainly ; for he raid to Hammiltoun to the Quen, and delt between the parties for paice, bot was not hard. Hir Maieste was not myndit to feicht, nor hazard bataille, bot to pafs vnto the castell of Dombertan, and draw hame again to hir obedience, be litle and litle, the hail subiectis. Bot the bischop of St Androwes and the house of Hammiltoun, with the rest of the lordis that wer ther convenit, finding themselves

P. 107. in nomber far beyond the other party, wald nedis hazard the battaill ; wherby they mycht ouercom the Regent ther gret ennemy, and be also maister of the Quen, to command and reull all at ther plesour. Some allegit, that the bischop was myndit to cause the Quen mary my L. Hammiltoun, incaice ther fyd wan the victory ; and I was informed sen syn, be some that wer present, that the Quen hir self fearit the same. Therefore sche preffit them still to convoy hir to Dombertan, and had send me word with the Frenche ambassadour, also caused my brother Sir Robert to wret a letter vnto me, the same mornying before the battaill, to draw on a commownyng for concord, be the meanis of the secretery Liddingtoun and the lard of Grange ; and for hir part, fuld fend the Lord Heris and some vther. Bot the Quenis army cam forduart sa fercely that ther was na stay.

The Regent went out vpon his fut, and all his company, saving the lard of Grange, Alexander Hum of Manderstoun, and some borderers to the nomber of tua hundreth. The lard of Grange had alredy vewed the ground, and with all possible diligence caused euery horsman tak on a futman of the Regentis gard behind them, and raid with speid to





the head of the Langfyd hill, and set down the said futmen with ther culueriugis at a strait lon head, wher ther war some coit houffes and gardis of gret aduantage; quhilkis foldiours, with ther continuell schot, dropped down dyuers in the vangard led be the Hamiltons, wha for ther curage and fearcenes ascending wp the stay bra, wer alredy out of wind when the Regentis vangard junit with them; wher the worthy L. Hume facht vpon fut, with his pik in his hand, very manfully, weill assited be the lard of Sefford his gud brother, wha helpit him vp again, when he was striken to the ground aff his feit, with many straikis vpon his faice, with the castyng of tume pistoles efter they wer schot, also with staues and flacons, and many straikis with spaires throw his leggis. For he and Grange cryed, at the juning, to let ther aduersaries lay down first ther spaires, to bear vp thers; quhilk spaires wer sa thik fixit in vthers jackis, that some of the flacons, pistollis and gret staues that wer throwen be them that wer behind, mycht be lean lyand vpon the spaires.

Vpon the Quenis fyd, the Erle of Argyll commandit the battaill, and the lord of Arbroith the vantgaird. On the vther part, the Regent led the battaill, and the Erle of Mortoun the vantgaird; bot the Regent committed vnto the lard of Grange, the speciall cair, as ane experimented capten, to ouerse euery danger, and to ryd to euery wing, and encourage and mak help wher greteft neid was. He persaut at the first junyng, the rycht wing of the Regentis vantgard put bak and sattill lyk to fle, wherof the maist part wer commons of the barronnye of Ranthrow. He cam to them, and tald them that ther ennemys wer alredy turnyng bakis, that wer behind the rest, and requested them to stay and debait, vntill he had fetched them fresche men fourthe of the

battaill ; wher he raid in diligence his allain, and tald the Regent, or allegit that the ennemys wer skailen and fleing away behind the litle vilage, and defyred a few number of frefche men till com with him ; wher he fand anew willing, as the Lord Lindfay, the Lard of Lochleuen, Sir James Balfour and all the Regentis faruandis, that folowed him with diligence, and renforced that wing quhilk was begynnen to fle. Quhilk frefche men, with ther lowfe weapons, ftraik ther ennemys in ther flankis and faces, quhilk forcit them incontinent to geue place and turn bakis, efter lang fechting and pouffing vthers tu and fra with ther fpaires. Ther wer not many horfmen till perfew efter them, and the Regent cryed to faif and not fla, and Grange was never crewell ; fa that ther wer bot a few flane and tane, and the only flauchter was at the firft renconter, be the fchot of the foldiours that Grange had planted at the lon head behind some dykis.

Efter the tincell of this battaill hir Maiefte tint curage, quhilk fche did neuer befoir, and tok fa gret fear that fche refted neuer vntill fche was in England ; thinking hir felf affured of refuge ther, in respect of the many fair promyfes maid be the Quen of England, be wordis to hir ambaffadours, and be wretingis with hir awen hand, baith before and efter that fche was kepit captyue in Lochleuen. Bot God and the warld wottes how fche wes keped and vfed ; for not only fche wald not fe hir of whom fche feamed fa oft to defyre a ficht and a meating, bot alfo caufed kep hir prifonner, and at lenth [*tuik her lyf*] fufferit hir lyf to be tane, or elis was fubtilly tane againft hir intention.

This puttis me in remembrance of a taill that my brother Sir Robert tald me, the tym that he wes bufyest dealing between the twa Quenis, to interteny ther frendfchip, and draw on ther meting at a part befyd

P. 109. Efter that the Quenis Maieſte had demitted the gouvernement, when ſche was captywe in Lochleuen, in ſic maner as is rehearſed, my L. of Murray being the firſt of the Regentis, of whom I haue ſaid ſome thing alredy ; I intend now till folow fourth and ſchaw a part of his proceedingis, and to begin wher I left, at hir Maieſteis retrait in England.

Efter the battaill of Langſyd, the ſaid Regent paſt throw the contre, and tok vp the eſcheitis and houſes of them that had aſſiſted at the ſaid battaill ; and cauſed caſt down dyuers of ther houſes, and diſponit all ther landis to his ſaruandis and dependers.

The conſaill of England being crafty, and the ſecretary Cicill in ſpeciall, knew what kynd of commodious men had maift credit about him for the tyme ; and thervpon tok occaſion to deall with the leaſt honeſt, maift ambitious and gredy of the nomber and ſociete, that had junit and bandit them ſelues together to hald hand to other, wherby to mak them ſelues vp, and to diſgrace all honeſt trew men that had euer aſſiſted and helped him in all his troubles. Thir ſort of men wer ſchone perſuadit and corrupted to moue the Regent to paſs in England, and accuſe ther natyue Quen before the Quen and conſaill of England, to the gret diſhonour of ther contre and Prince. For the Quen of England, wha had na juſt cauſe to retean the Quen, wha paſt in England in hope to get refuge, and the aſſiſtance quhilk had bene ſa oft promyſed vnto hir, baith before and efter hir captiuitie in Lochleuen, was very deſyrous to haue ſome coulour, wherby ſche mycht mak anſwer

The first day of meting, the Duc of Norfolk requyred that the Regent shuld mak homage, in the Kingis name, to the crown of England; thinking he had some matter for him, feing the said Regent ther to pled his cause before the consaill of England. Wherat the Regent grew red, and wist not what till answer; bot the secretary Liddingtoun tok the speache, and said, that in restoryng again till Scotland the landis of Huntingtoun, Commerland and Northumberland, with sic vther landis as Scotland had of auld, that glaidly shuld homage be maid for the saidis landis; bot as to the crown and kingdome of Scotland, it wes freer then England had bene laitly, when it payed S<sup>t</sup> Peters peny to the Paip.

It appearit still that the Duc draue tyme with us, as having na will till enter vpon the termes of accusation. What was in his head it appearit efterwart, bot was in a dout whom with to deall; for he thocht he nother saw honest men nor wyse men, as he granted him self efterwart. At last he resoluit to enter in conference with the secretary Liddingtoun, to whom he said, that he had of before estymed him a wyse man, vntill now that he cam before strangers till accuse the Quen his meistris, as thoch England wer juges ouer the princes of Scotland. How culd we find in our hartis to dishonour our Kingis mother, or how culd we answer of our dewty efterwart, doing what he culd to parell the Kingis hir sonnes richt of England, in traueling to put his mothers honestie in dout? It had bene rather the dewtie of them hir subiectis, to couer hir imperfections, gene siche had any; remitting vnto God and the tyme to punisch and put ordour, wha is the only juge ouer princes.

Liddingtoun, as he mycht weall do, purgit him self, and sayd he cam ther to eslay to stay the said accusation, quhilk the lard of Grange, he

cuse his Quen. Albeit sche had done or sufferit harm to be done vnto the K. hir husband, ther was respect to be had vnto the Prince her sonne; quhilk he for his part, and many in England had, as Mester Meluill wha had bene lait ambassadour ther could testifie; and therefore wiffit that the Quen suld not be accused nor dishonorit, for the K. hir sonnes cause, and for the respect of the rycht they baith had to succed vnto the crown of England. And farther the Duc said, " I am send to heir your accusation; bot nother will the Quen my mestres, nor I, discern nor geue out any sentence vpon your accusation; and that ye may vnderstand the verite in this point mair clearly, ye fall do weall, the nyxt tym that I requyre you before the counsaill to geue in your accusation in wret, to demand again the Quen my mestres seall and handwret, before ye schaw your foly, that incaice ye accuse, that sche fall immediatly convict and geue out hir sentence; otherwayes that ye will not open your pak; quhilk gene hir Maieste fall refuse to grant vnto you, quhilk vndoubtedly sche will do, then assure your self that my information is rycht, and tak occasion therupon to stay fra farder accusation.

The Regent tok very weill with this aduys of the Ducis, and kepit it secret from all his company; bot maid the secretary Liddingtoun and me preuy to it, and we confirmed him weall in this oppinion. At the nyxt meating with the counsaill, when the Duc demandit the accusation to be geuen in, the Regent askit, for his securete, the Quen of Englandis seall and handwret, as was aduysed; whereof the rest of his faction gaif Liddingtoun the haill wyet, because it drew on a delay vntill the post was sent to the court and com bak again; and the Quenis answer being com bak, was, " Sche was a trew princes; hir

word and promyse wald be sufficient enough." The secretary Cicill and Mester Jhon Wod secretary to my L. Regent, thocht strange of this maner of the Regentis proceeding; therefore caused him and the lordis of baith fydis to pass fra York vp to the court, a far way; ther the mater to be traied, wher the Quen was abler to geue redy answers and replies. In the mean tyme, the Regent finding the Duc of Norfolkis confaill to be trewe, enterit farther with him, and agreed between them, in prefens of Liddingtoun, as folowes: "That he in nawayes suld accuse the Quen, and the Duc suld obteane vnto him the Quenis fauour, with a confirmation of the regency; the Duc and he to be as sworn brether, of a religion, schutting continowally at a mark, with the mutuel intelligence of others myndis; the one to reull Scotland, and the other to reull England, to the glory of God and weall of baith the princes and ther contrees; so that the posterite suld reput them the happyest twa instrumentis that ever was bred in Britany."

The Duc was then the grettest subiect in Europe, not being a fre prince; for he rewled the Quen and all them that wer maist famyliers with hir; he rewled the confaill, and rewled twa contrary factions in England, baith protestantis and papistis, with the town of Londown and haill commons; the gret men that wer papistis, were all his neir kinsmen, whom he enterteined with gret wisdom and discretion; the protestantis had sic proif of his godly lyf and conuersation, that they louned him entirely.

112 The Regent being arrayued at the court of England, quhilk wes for the tyme at Hamtoncourt, wes daily pressit to geue in his accusation; specially be them that wer about him, wha all thocht strange that he was so laith to do it, vntill they wer aduertist be one of the lordis of

the Quenis fyd, of all that wes paſt between the Regent and the Duc of Norfolk. For the Duc had ſend and aduertift our Quen, be a ſecret man; and ſche again ſchew it to aue of hir maiſt famyliers, wha aduertift the Erle of Mortoun; wha tok it in a very euell part, that the Regent had not made him preuy, nor nane of that ſociete, how far he had delt and promyſed vnto the Duc of Norfolk. Bot firſt, or them of his awen company wald ſeam to underſtand any thing of that matter, they layed ther headis together, and cauſed Meſter Jhon Wod to infourm the ſecretary Cicill; and willit him to preſs fordwart the accuſation, wherein he wes ernest anough. They again left nathing vndone for ther part to the ſame, putting him in hope that the Quen wald geue him hir hand-wret and ſeall, to convict incaice he accuſed; and ſome of the fynest of them perſuadit him, that ſche wald neuer geue hir hand-wret nor ſeall, bot pat him till a ſtrait to ſe what he wald do, incaice he obtenit his deſyre. And Maſter Jhon Wod ſaid, that it was meit to cary in all the wretis to the conſaill houſe, and he ſuld keip the accuſation in his boſome, and ſuld not delyuer it without all conditions wer alſo kepit to him. The reſt of the Regentis lordis and conſellours had concludit amang them, that ſa ſchone as the Duc of Norfolk, as cheif of the conſaill, wald inquiryre for the accuſation, that they ſuld all with a voice cry and perſuad the Regent to ga fordwart with it. The ſecretary Liddingtoun and a few vthers remembrit the Regent, how far he had obligit him ſelf to the Duc of Norfolk. He ſaid, he ſuld do weall anough, and that it wald not com that far agaitwart.

ſa ſchone as he with his conſaill wer within the conſaill houſe, the Duc of Norfolk aſkit for the accuſation. The Regent deſyred again the aſſurance of the conviction, be wret and ſeall, as ſaid is. It was an-

swerit again, that the Quenis Maieſteis word, being a trew princes, wald be ſufficient anough. Then all the conſaill cryed out, wald he miſtruſt the Quen, wha had geuen ſic proif of hir frendſcip to Scotland. The Regentis conſaill cryed out alſo on that ſame maner. Then the ſecretary Cicill aſkit, gene they had the accusation ther. “Yes,” ſaid Meſter Jhon Wod (with that he pluckis it out of his boſome); “bot I will not delyuer it vntill hir Maieſteis handwret and ſeall be delyuerit to my lord.” Then the biſhop of Orkeney cleakis the wret out of Meſter Jhon Wodis handis. “Let me haue it, I ſall preſent it,” ſaid he. Meſter Jhon ran efter him, as gene he wald haue had it again, or ryuen his clais. Fordwart paſt the biſhop to the conſaill table, and gaue in the accusation. Then ſaid to him my Lord Willyem Hauvert, chamberlan, “Weill done, biſhop Turpy; thou art the frackeſt felow amang them; none of them all will mak thy loup gud;” ſcornen him for his lowping out of the lard of Grange ſchip. Meſter Hendre Belnaves only had maid reſiſtance, and callit for the ſecretary Liddingtoun, wha taried without the conſaill houſe; bot ſa ſchone as Meſter Hendre Belnaves had callit for him, he cam in, and roundit in the Regentis ear that he had ſchamed him ſelf, and pat his lyf in parell by the loſs of ſa gud a frend, and his reputation for euer.

- P. 113. The Regent, wha had bene brocht be his facilitie to brek with the Duc of Norfolk, repented him again ſa ſchone as Liddingtoun had ſchawen him the danger, and deſyrit the accusation to be renderit to him again; alleging that he had ſome mair to add vnto it. Bot they ſaid, that they wald hald that quhilk they had, and wer redy to receave any other addition when he pleaſit to geue it in. The Duc of Norfolk had anough ado to keip his contenance; Meſter Jhon Wod winket vpon



the secretary Cicill, wha smyled again vpon him ; the rest of the Regentis company were lauchen vpon other ; the secretary Liddingtoun had a fair hart. The Regent cam fourth of the consaill house with the tear in his eye, and past to his loging at Kingistoun, a myll from court, wher his factious frendis had enough ado to confort him.

The Quen of England having obteanit hir intent, receaued gret contentement. First sche thocht sche had matter for hir, to schaw wherfore sche reteanit the Quen ; then sche was glaid of the Quenis dishonour ; bot sche detested in hir mynd the Regent and all his company, and wald not ken him, nor hear any mair of him. Sche sent also incontinent to the Quen to confort hir, preing hir to think that sche was in a better caice ther, albeit keaped for a whyll, nor to be in Scotland with sa unworthy subiectis, wha had accused hir falsly and wrangeously, as sche was affured ; and that neyther fuld they be the better, nor sche the war, for any thing that they had done ; for sche wald not be juge, nor geue out any sentence therupon, nor nane fuld knawe, be hir or hir conseill, na part of the said false accusation ; preing hir to tak patience in hir gentill ward, wher sche was nerer at hand to get the crown of England set vpon hir head, incaice of hir discesse, wha was bot the eldest sifter.

Thus the Regent wan na vther thing for his labour, bot to be dyspyfed by the Quen and confell of England, and detested be the Duc of Norfolk, and reprochit be his best and treuest frendis ; and sufferit to ly a lang tym at Kingistoun, in gret displeasour and fear, without money to spend, and without hope to get any fra the Quen. In the mean tym, the maner of agrement betwen him and the Duc was tald vnto the Quen ; for the Erle of Mortoun caused a minister, callit Jhon Willok,

to declair the dealing between the Regent and the Duc of Norfolk to the Erle of Huntingtoun, wha caused my L. of Leycester tell it vnto the Quen.

The Duc of Norfolk finding him self disapointed be the Regent, and his purpos discouerit vnto the Quen, began to boist and speak plane langage, that he wald serue and honor the Quen his mestres sa lang as sche lyued, bot efter hir discese, he wald set the crown of England vpon the Quen of Scotlandis head as lawfull heir ; and this far he said also to Mester Cicill, and bad him pass and prattle that langage again to the Quen. The secretary Cicill answerit agane, that he wald be na taill teller to the Quen of him, bot wald concur with him in any course, and serue him in any thing wherin he wald employ him. He boisted also Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, whom he supponit wald be in his contrair, as a trew and deuot faruand to the Quen ; sa that Sir Nycholas was fayn efterwart to seek his fauour, be the moyen of the Erles of Penbrough and Leycister, wha was also his frend, albeit he durst not hyd fra the Quen that quhilk the Erle of Huntingtoun had maid him aduertisement of, willing him to declare the same vnto the Quen.

P. 114. The Duc of Norfolk, vnderstanding that his haille purpos was discouerit, stod na aw to confesse vnto the Quen, that he wald never offend her for hir tyme, bot serue and honour hir ; and efter hir, the Quen of Scotland, as maist lawfull in his oppinion, for eschewing of ciuill warres and gret bludshedding, that mycht vtherwayes fall out. Albeit the Quen of England lyked not this langage, sche wald not seem to find falt with it for the tyme.

Now matters being casten lowe on this maner, betwen the Regent and the Duc, and the Regent in gret distres, Sir Nycholas Throgmor-

toun, being a man of gret discours, and wha had euer trauelit to the vnion of this yll, efter that he was agreed with the Duc, and saw that the Erles of Leycester, Penbrugh, secretary Cicill, and the rest of the court and commons wer all for the Duc, and that the Quen durst not find falt with him, he deuysed and brocht till pass a new frendship between the Regent and the Duc; wha was very laith to enter again with the Regent, yet at lenth sufferit him self to be perswadit. My L. Regent, on the other part, being destitute for the tym of all frendship in England, and indigent of money, thocht it a gret happynes vnto him gif he mycht get again the Ducs fauour and pardon. Sa he wes brocht easely and secretly vnto the Duc be Sir Nycholas; at what tym he granted his offence, excusing him self the best he mycht, vpon the craft and importunate of some of his company. The Duc helpit him to mak his excuses, alleging that he knew how that his gentill nature wes abused, be the craft and concurrence of some of the counsaill of England with them that wer about him; and gene he wald, in tymes commyng, kep tueches and be secret, ordour fuld be put vnto all them that had drawen on that dracht. The Regent promysed, as far as culd be deuysed; sa that a greter frendship was packit vp between them then ever it was. The Duc had of before tald him, that he was myndit to mary the Quen our mestres, and that he fuld neuer let hir com in Scotland, nor yet that he fuld never rebell against the Quen of England for hir tym; also that he had a dochter that mycht be meater for the K. then any vther, for many raisons quhilk wer set out for that purpos. Now the Duc tok in hand to cause the Quen his mestres geue vnto my L. Regent, xxv thousand pondis Scotis; for the quhilk soun he becam caution, and was efterwart compellit to pay.

Efter that my L. Regent had gottin this money, and tane his leaue of the Quen, he was aduyfed be fic as had yet gret credit about him, to tell the Quen fecretly all thingis that wer pafte of new again betwen the Duc of Norfolk and him. And to do it the mair couertly, it was deuyfed that the Quen of England fuld fend for him, feamyng to geue him fome admonition anent gud ordour to be obferuit vpon the borders. This being done, and all thingis difcouerit to the Quen, with a promyfe fa fchone as he cam in Scotland, and had refaut any lettres from the Duc be chiffers or vtherways, to fend them all in England with a man exprefs. In the mean tym the Duc wret vnto our Quen, aduertiffen hir again of the new frendfchip betwen him and the Regent, wha wes very penitent, and had bene difceaued be craftier men nor him felf; willing hir to let him pafs by, without any harm to be done vnto him, or any of his be the way.

5. At that tyme, the Duc commandit ouer all the north partis of England, wher the Quen our meftres was keped, and mycht haue tane hir out when he pleafit; and when he wes angry at the Regent, had apointed the Erle of Westmourland to ly in his way, and cut aff him felf and fa many as wer bent to the Quenis accusation. Bot efter the laft agreement, the Duc fend and difchargit the faid erle to do ws harm; yet the erle cam in our way, with a company of faire horfe, to fchew that we wer in his mercy.

Efter the Regentis retournyng faifly in Scotland, Mefter Jhon Wod his fecretary procured, vpon the firft occafion, to be fend in England, with all the wretis that culd be gottin that mycht ferue till vndo the Duc of Norfolk; and defyred Mefter Hendre Belnaues to caufe the Regent geue him the bifchoprik of Murray, vaikant for the tym, no-

ther for ambition nor gredines of the rentis, bot rather that he mycht haue ane honorable styll, to set out the better his ambassage. The said Mester Hendre, being inded sic a man as Mester Jhon wald appere to be, was very angry, and lyked him never efter that. My L. Lindsay wanted him self, that he was ane of the nomber that gaif the Regent confaill sa to do ; alleging that sic promyses as wes maid vnto the Duc of Norfolk, for fear of his lyf, aucht not to be keped.

A whyll efter that Mester Jhon was com bak in Scotland, weall rewardit for his trew traueling, the Duc wes sent for be the Quen to com to the court. Wherupon first he poisted ane in haift to the secretery Cicill, to haue his confaill ; for he reposed then mekle vpon him, for they wer packit vp in a course. The other maid answer, that ther was na danger ; he mycht com and gang at his pleasour, na man wald nor durft offend him ; quhilk moued the Duc to ryd quyetly, only with his awen trayn, wher vtherwayes he had bene weill accompanied. In the mean tym the secretery Cicill infourmed the Quen, how that the necessity of the tym straited hir, not till omit this occasion till tak the matter stoutly vpon hir self, and command hir gard incontinent to lay handis vpon the Duc, or ellis na vther durft do it ; quhilk gene siche did not at this tym, hir crown wald be in parell. The Quen folowing this aduyse, the Duc was tane and keped, when he thocht that all England wes at his deuotion ; wha efter lang captiuite was execut, and endit his lyf deuotly in the reformed religion.

Schortly efter Mester Jhon Wodis returnyng out of England, ther was a gret Convention halden at Perth ; wher the Regent was myndit to accuse the secretery Liddingtoun, for being of confaill with the Duc of Norfolk. Bot he had sa many frendis for the tym, that they durft

not lay handis on him ; albeit fra that hour fourth, he reterit from court and remanit with the Erle of Atholl, wher the Regent entertained him with fair frendly lettres, and vpon a tym being in Stirling wret for him, to com and help to mak a dispaſche to England ; wher being com, Capten Crafford wes directed to accuſe him before the preuy conſaill of the lait Kingis mourther, and being accuſed of ſa odious a crym, was committed to ward.

P. 116. Sir James Balfour wes alſo tane out of his awen houſe, when he lippenit for na les. Then my L. of Down wret vnto the Lard of Grange to be vpon his gardis ; for the Regent wald tak the Caſtell of Edenbrough fra him, and mak the Lard of Dromwhafell capten ; wherof he had aduertift the Lard of Grange of before, as alſo of the intention to tak the ſecretair and Sir James Balfour. Bot he wald not geue credit therto at the firſt ; bot now when he ſaw the aduertiffementis tak effect, he began to think that the Regent wes led ſtrangly, and wald haue bene content to want the caſtell and leaue the court, wer not the deſyre he had to ſaif the lyues of the ſecretair and Sir James Balfour, whom he knew to be wrangeouſly perſewed, only be the malice and envy of ther ennemys for ther offices. Sir James Balfour being tane, ſend vnto the Lard of Grang, remembring him how he junit with the lordis and Regent vpon the truſt he had of his fidelite, mair nor till all ther ſeales and handwretis, quhilkis he had till produce. Wherupon the Lard of Grange ſend a gentilman to the Regent ; bot the Regent purgit him ſelf, and allegit the conſaill wer ſa bandit togither againſt the ſecretair and Sir James, that it lay not in his power to get them vnwardit, feing they wer accuſit for the Kingis mourthour againſt his will, bot Grange fuld ken his honeſt part therin at meting ; preing

him in the mean tym to fufpend his jugement. Nevertheles the Regent and his confell wer determinit to pafs fordwart, and tak the lyues fra the tua prifoners, till Grange fend again and defyred the lyk juftice to be done vpon the Erle of Mortoun and Mefter Archebald Douglas ; for he offerit to feicht with Mefter Archebald, and the Lord Heris offerit to feicht with the Erle of Mortoun, that he was vpon the confell, and airt and part of the Kings mourther. This ftayed ther execution at that tym, and the Regent ftill allegit that the lordis had tane them againft his will, and that he fuld fend Sir James Balfour to the caftell of Santandrowes, and fuld bring the fecretair Liddingtoun till Edenbrough, and delyuer him vnto the Lard of Grange to be keped. Sa the Regent cam till Edenbrough, and brocht the fecretair with him, intending as Grange was aduertift, to mak the faid fecretair a fteall gufe to draw down Grange out of the caftell to the town the nyxt mornynge, to receaue the fecretair to be convoyed vp to the caftell ; and then to retean Grange alfo, vntill the caftell fuld be delyuerit vntill the lard of Dromquhafell to be keper therof, and to fend Grange hame to his houfe, and reward him with the pryourie of Pittinweme. Bot the Erle of Mortoun had appointed four men to fley Grange, at the entre of the Regentis loging, by the Regentis knowlege. Bot Grange wes laith yet to trow the worft of the Regent, and being of oppinion that the Regentis gentill natour was forcit be the lordis, as he had fend him word, and vnderftod that they wer myndit to cary the fecretair to Tamtalloun, he cam down out of the caftell with a company, and reft the fecretair out of the handis of his keepers, and convoyed him vp to the caftell. For he thocht, gif it be trew that the Regent faid, wher he wes forcit be the lordis againft his will to let the fecretair be reteanit efter

that he wes accused, now the Regent wald be glaid that he had reuengit his quarrell vpon the lordis, be taking the secretaire out of ther handis, quhilk he mycht justly allege that he knew not of; and that, gif the Regent wald be miscontent with his vptaking, it wald be a manifest token of his discembling and double dealing. In that caice, Grange thocht he did a guid deid, to saif his frendis lyf; and to beleue dyuers intelligences, quhilkis he wald not credit of before, and therefore to be vpon his gardis in tymes commyng.

The Regent and his confellours, when they vnderftod how that Grange had tane vp the secretaire to the castell, wer in a gret perplexitie, supponyng all ther confelis to be disclofit; and wist not how to help the matter, bot aduysed the Regent to couer his colair vntill a bettir occasion; caufing him pass vp to the castell the nyxt mornyng, for he durst credit Grange. Bot Grange durst na mair credit him, albeit at meting he gaif him ma fair wordis then he was wont to do, quhilk Grange tok in ane euell part. Eftir this, ther wer many deuyces how to trap Grange sometym in his down commyng to the Regent; bot he wes ay aduertist and vpon his gardis. Sa as the Regent tint daly of his best frendis, the number of his ennemys increffit; for the Duc of Chattelleraut, wha wes agreed with him by the moyen of the Lord Heris, when the said Duc and the Lord Heris cam till Edinbrough, as was appointed at ther agreement, to concure with the Regent in confell and vtherwayes for the quytnes of the contre, they wer baith wardit in the castell against promyse. Quhilk when the Lard of Grange fand falt with, Mester Jhon Wod said, " My lord, I maruell of yow; how fall we that ar my lordis dependers get rewardis bot be the wrak of sic men." " Yea," said Grange, " is that your halynes?



I fe nathing bot ye, amang yow, for envy, gredines and ambiffion, ar lyk to wrak a gud Regent and contre." This was lang before the taking of the secretaire, and increffit the hattrent of a wickit societe againft Grange, wha mycht not abyd his honestie, credit and reputation, thortering at all occasions ther parcialites ; quhilk wes the falt alfo that they had againft the secretary, and becaufe his wit excellit fa far abone thers. The captiuite of the Duc and my L. Heris, maid many vnfrendis, wha tok the greter baldnes to confpyre againft the Regent, when they perfauit him to tyn and caft aff his aldeft and beft frendis.

It was a fair thing to fe that gud Regent, anes fa weill inclynit to do gud offices in religion and commown weall, fa wryed and drawen efter vther mens vain pretences and affections ; employeing therintill the haill tym of his regiment to his awen vtter wrak, to the wrak of many worthy perfonages, and to ther wrak at lenth that wer his leaders.

- P. 118. The Regentis misbehauour throw euell confellours, as geuing ear only vnto flatterers, and wald not fuffer his trew loving frendis any langer to tell him the verite, maid many to conjectour that his wrak was at hand ; and I amang vthers deuysed a present remedy for his preferuation, whilk was this.

I knew that the taking vp of Liddingtoun to the castell, fank deapest in the Regentis hart. The false practyses, and wrakful fetches of fic as had learnit the Regent to difcemble, moued Grange ; and the geloufies raifed therupon between them, moued and gaif place to his ennemys till confpyre.

First, I requested the Regent to remember vpon the false practyses that some about him had findre tymes vfed of before, to his gret dif-

discemle ; and yet it sat him nocht, for it wes against his nature, and wes easely persaued be them wha had bene sa lang acquainted with him, and had bene his cheif aduancers vnder God, the secretary be his wisdom, and Grange be his manlynes and fidelite ; and had baith sic notable qualites, that they mirited to be enuyed of wicked and vnworthy bodyes, wha be ther continowell flatterie and false reportis pat them out of his fauour ; and then lyk a weak house wanting hir susteaning pillaires, he fell in decadence.

Him self was at the first of a gentill nature, weall inclynit, gud with gud company, wyfe with wyfe company, stout with stout company, and contrary wayes with vthers of the contrary qualiteis ; sa that as company chancit to fall about him, his busynes gaid rycht or wrang. In his first vpryng, his hap wes to leicht vpon the best fort ; for in his beginning, full of aduersite, trew honest men stak be him, because he wes religiously brocht vp. Again when he wes Regent, flatterers for ther profit drew till him, and puft him vp in ouer gud oppinion of him self. His auld trew frendis again wald reproue him, wherby they tint his fauour. I wald somtymes say to him, that he was lyk ane vnskilfull player in a keatchepoill, runnyng euer efter the ball : wheras ane expert player wald se and dicerne wher the ball will leicht, wher it will stot, and with small trauell will let it leicht in his hand or racket. Thus I said, because he tok very gret panes in his awen persone to small effect : efter he had gotten dyuers aduertisementis of his ennemys conspyracies, in vain : for he wald credit nathing bot it that cam fra his famyliers, wha tald him nathing bot of faire wether, and of the best gouernement that culd be, and sa pat him in a cairles securite ; quhilk encouraget the gud man of Bodowellhach, callit Hamil-

town, to ly in his gait as he wes passing throw Lithco and schot hym, wherof he died that same nycht. All his confellouris and famyliers wer afweill aduertift as he wes, baith of the man, the place and the tym; and yet wer fa cairles of him, that they wald not tak the panes to fearch the housé wher the man lay to schot him, bot sufferit him to eschaip vpon a spedy horse.

I haue wreten this far of him, because euery ane knawes not the verite how he was led out of the rycht way. And because St Augustin sayes that alkynd of yngnorance is nother worthy of pardone nor excuse, bot only sic as haue not the meanis to be instructed, nor to get knowlege, I was sometymes compellit to recit dyuers sentences of Salomon to this gud Regent, for fa he was and is yet callit; how that ane havy gok is ordonit for the sonnes of Adam, from the day that they go out of ther mothers wamb, till the day that they return to the mother of all thingis; from him that is clothed in blew filk, and weareth a crown, euen vnto him that weareth femple lynning; wraith and enuy, trouble and vnquytnes, rygour and stryf, and fear of death in the tym of rest. 2. Be delygent to know the estait of thy flok; for the prince that sees bot with other mens eyn, and heares with other mens eares, mon nedis be yngnorant; and sic a prince is a gret oppreffour. Bot a wyse king skattereth the wicked, and causeth the whell to wholme ouer them. That prince quhilk wantis the fur and certain intelligence of the estait of his contre, is a very yngnorant in that caice, and is commonly maid a wicked instrument to fulfill the appetitis of enuyous vengeable and gredy confellours. And Salomon sayes, that for the transgression of sic wicked confellours, the land chenges many princis. And again, the prudent man seeth the plaig and escheweth it, bot fules

go on still and ar punifit. Wifdome, knaulege and vnderftanding of the law, is of the Lord ; errour yngnorance and darkenes ar apponted vnto fynners, for punifmentis and plaiges. The foolifche will beleue euery thing, and the mouth of fules is fed with fulifhnes ; bot the prudent will confidder his paithes, and can perfaue how that fome ar confellouris for them felues. Therefore, fayes Salomon, I wifdome duell with prudence, and can find fourth the rycht knaulege of confelles. As  
P 120. gene he wald fay, I that haue wifdome purifeid with prudency, will not be fa easely caried away be flatterers, as ar a nomber of facill princes that promot them abone faithfull frendis and trew faruandis, that reprove them for ther vnfeamly proccadingis. Againft the reull of Ifo-crates, wha admoniffit his King to loue and cftream as his trewift frendis, fic as lovingly and modestly will correct his faltis. And as Plutark fayes vnto Trayan, folow the confaill of them that loues the, rather then of them that thou loues. And as Theopompe, being demandid how a prince fuld beft reull, anfwerit, in permitting his trew faruandis to tell him the verite of his eftait. As the King of the people is, fo ar his officers ; gif the officers be wicked, fa is the reuler thocht to be. How ar flatterers flowen away with your wonted humilite ; and wha hes puft you vp, fa that ye will not suffer a frendly reprof ? Says not Salomon, gene thou feelt a man wyfe in his awen conceat, ther is mair hop to be had of a fooll then of him. Exalt not thyfelf in the day of honour, for pryd goith before destruction, and ane hy mynd before the fall. Yet hear confaill and refaue instruction ; let raifoun go before euery enterpryfe, and confaill before euery action. When ye folowed the confaill of your auld experimented frendis, your affaires prosperit. Sen ye left them, to folow the flattering fetches of your wonted faes,

that ar now becom your chieffest confellours, efter that ye wer maid Regent, your credit decayes and all your bufynes gais abak. I ſchew you laitly, commyng of Domfreis, in what danger was your eftait and perfone, wherunto ye haue tane ouer litle tent ; quhilk danger apperis to be ay the langer the greter, without ſpedy repentance, and the ſpedy embracing of ſic remedies as I mentionit for the tym. Therfor tak this bettir to hart, and in a gud part of him of whom ye haue had ſa gud proif in all your aduerſities. Salomon ſayes mair, receaue inſtruction, that thou mayeſt be wyſe in thy lattir end ; and abone all this, prey to the moſt hych that he will direct thy way in treuth ; quhilk I prey God grant you the grace to do.

The maiſt part of thir ſentences, drawen out of the byble, I vſit to recit vnto him at all erroneous occaſions ; and he tok bettir with them therfore, then gif they had proceadit from the learnit philoſophers. Therefore I promyſed to put them [in] wret, and gaue him to kepe in his poutche ; bot he was flain, as ſaid is, before I culd meit with him.

Eftir the diſceſe of this Regent, England ſend the Erle of Suffex to Berwick ; wher the Erle of Lenox cam alſo at that ſame tym, as being ſent for be the lordis of the Kingis faction, to be maid Regent in ſteid of the Erle of Murray. The Erle of Suffex had with him the forces of the north, as gene he had ſome enterpryſe to do, and tak ſome advantage, the tym that the contre wanted a Regent. About that ſame tym, ſa mony of the lordis as wer bandit, and profeſſit the Quenis autorite, cauſed proclame the ſame at Lithco. As yet, they of the caſtell of Edenbrough profeſſit the Kingis autorite, albeit ther wer ſecret jealousies betwen them, and ſa many of the reſt as had bene cauſe to draw the lait Regent vpon the taking of the ſecretary Liddingtoun and Sir

James Balfour, and wald also have wraked Grange, becaufe he was a frend to them twa ; and also becaufe his vertus wer envyed, and his  
P. 121. capitanrie desyred be vthers.

They that wer within the said castell for the tym, wer my L. Duc of Chattelleraut and my L. Heris, wardit wrangeously as I haue said ; therefore the lard of Grange ohteanit a warrant fra the rest of the Kingis lordis, to set them at liberte. The Lord Hum was ther, to assift with them of the castell with the lard of Grange, the secretery Liddingtoun, his brother the pryour of Cowdingame, S<sup>r</sup> Robert Meluill, his twa brether, capten David and S<sup>r</sup> Andro Meluille, the lard of Drylaw, Pit-tadrow, Sir James Balfour, the lardis of Ferniheft, Baclouch, Wil-mestoun, Parbroith, and dyuers vthers noblemen and barrons that cam ther at all occasions, and wer redy for them when they had ado.

This company directed me to Barwik, toward the Erle of Suffex, to know what he intendit to do with his forces ; whither to assift any of the twa factions, or to agre them. I was frendly refaut be him, weall logit and deffrayed, and wanted nathing, not femekle as his awen nycht gown furrit with rich fourringis, fa lang as I abaid ther. Albeit he was a gret ennemy till all Scottis men, he appearit to enter in gret familiarite with me, and semed to tell me of his maist secret mynd ; alleging his planes to me was upon the report he had hard be findre of his contre men. He said, that his commyng with sic forces was not till assift any faction, nor to descyd questions and titles that was amang us, bot to serue the Quen his mestres commandement ; and that gif he did any enterpryse or harme at that tym till any Scottis man, it fuld be againft his hart ; and that of all Scottis men, he lyked best of them that wer within the castell of Edenbrough and ther dependers ; specially be-

cause he knew them to haue bene frendis to the Duc of Norfolk his neir cufing ; whais part he had planly tane, gif the said Duc had be his awen mouth communicated his enterpryse to him, as he had foolishchly done be a gentilman of his ; to whais credit he durft not commit the secrecy of that weichty matter, quhilk stode him upon his lyf and heritage ; and that albeit he with his forcis cam not till set out nor fortify any faction in Scotland, yet he durft be plane with me, as with a trew frend priuatly, to declare that he estymed the Quen of Scotland, and the Prince hir sone, rychtous hayres to the crown of England ; quhilk part of his mynd he had schawen to few in England.

Sa I returnit with na direct answer, bot with a firm oppinion, that he wes fend to seam to set fordwart the Erle of Lenox to be Regent, and to fend word to the lordis of the Kingis fyd that he wald affist them, and fend in Mester Randolph heir with the Erle of Lenox ; and yet to deall with the lordis of the Quenis faction, to encorage them till hald fordwart ther factious courses. Because the said M<sup>r</sup> Randolphe had a gret dealing with the house of Hammiltoun, as he wha convoyed the Erle of Arran, now vesited with the hand of God, out of France throw England and hame in Scotland, to affist the congregation. He knew also what auld and lang hattrent wes between the houses of Lenox and Hammiltoun, and was deliberatly directed secretly to kendle a fyre of discord between the twa stark factions in Scotland, quhilk culd not be easely quenched ; and to confirm the Lord Hum, wha was not yet resoluut to tak part with the Quenis faction, quhilk England thocht not yet stark enough, to sustean lang stryf against the Kingis faction.

The Erle of Suffex entred in the Merse with his forces, and tok the castell of Hum and Falscastell, full of richese and precious mouables,

moving the Lord Hum that way to tak plane part with the Hamiltons  
P. 122. and Quenis faction. Wherby it may be fean, how that the conclufion  
to hald contrees in difcord, be the craft of the confaill of England for  
the tym, as I haue fpecified of before, was now put in practyfe incon-  
tinent efter the difcefe of the Erle of Murray. Albeit the Erle of Le-  
nox had his wyf, his bairnis and landis yet in England, they wald not  
credit him ; bot fupponit he wald be a trew Scottifman, as he proued  
in deid efterwart. I being in Barwik, when the Erle of Lenox was fa  
far agaitwart to com in Scotland, to be Regent as faid is, I thocht it  
my dewty to vefit him ; for at his firft incommyng before the mariage  
of his fonne my L. Darley with the Quen, he fend this that is now  
Crownel Stuart for my brother Sir Robert and me, and becaufe my  
brother was abfent, I went allane to him. At what tym, he tald me  
that his lang abfence out of the contre had maid him as a ftranger in the  
knowlege of the eftait, and that my lady his wyf, at his commyng  
from hir, had willit him to tak my brothers confaill and myn in all  
his adois, as hir frendis and kinfmen. Sa that being familier anough  
with him, I vefited him at this tym, and tald him the prefent eftait of  
the contre ; bot I difuadit him to accept vpon him the regiment, fear-  
ing that in fa doing it wald coift him his lyf, as matters wer lyk to be  
handled, as I fuld inform him at mair lenth being at hame. As for my  
felf, I promyfed to ferue and affift him, albeit I culd not fe the lyk in-  
tention be them that wer in the caftell of Edenbrough. He promyfed  
again to be my frend at his power, and gaif me his hand therupon.  
Then he inquiryed, what wes the caufe that they of the caftell wald be  
in his contraire. I faid, for na particulær they had at him felf, bot  
becaufe the company of lordis that had fend for him to com hame,



and be Regent by them, wer ther vnfrendis, and suspected they wald also with tym moue hym also to be ther ennemy. He said that the lard of Grange had bene alwayes his gud frend, and had done him somtymes gret plesour. I sayd, I hoped he suld be his frend yet, eftir that he had sattelit himself in the regiment, and mycht haue leafer to be richtly infourmed of euery mans part.

Retournyng bak fra Barwik, at the bond rod, I met the abbot of Domfermeling, sent be the Kingis lordis to England, to meit with the Erle of Lenox in his passing by. Sa far as I culd learn efterwart of his commission, was to defyre the Quene of England to delyuer the Quen of Scotland, to be keped be the Kingis lordis heir at hame; seing that sche wald not procead vtherwayes conform to ther accusation, geuen in the tym that my L. of Murray wes ther; wherunto the Quen of England maid answer, gif they wald fend hir sufficient plegis for the surete of the Quenis lyf, sche suld delyuer hir to them to be keped. The abbot allegit that to be hard to do; for what incaice the Quen died in the mean tym. Sche said again, "My L. I beleued ye had bene a wyse man; ye wald presse me to speak that quhilk is not necessary. Ye suld knaw that for my honestie, I can not bot requyre plegis to that end. I think ye mycht juge also of your self, what mycht be my weall." Hir meaning in this may be easely jugit and vnderstand.

1573. The Erle of Lenox cam till Edenbrough schortly efter me, and efter he had accepted vpon him the gouvernement, his first enterpryse wes to tak Breichen, quhilk was keped be some companyes of futmen, tane vp be the Erle of Huntely to assist the Quenis faction. Thir soldiours aduertist of the new Regentis commyng to persew them, fled; except

a few that kepit the kirk and ftipell, wha wer all hanget. I had maid me redy to ryd with the Regent, bot Mester Randolphe the Englishe ambaffadour, wha cam in with the Erle of Lenox, feamyng to fet him fordwart at his power, stayed me not to ryd with the Regent; for he feared that I fuld be ane instrumēt to agre the lard of Grange, and them of the castell of Edenbrough, to the Regentis obedience with tym, to the hendrance of the ciuill discention quhilk he intendit to establishe. For gene they of the castell of Edenbrough and ther dependers had afifted the Regent, the Quenis faction wer sa few and weak, that they wald not haue bene able to mak a party to the Kingis faction, wha wer yet manyest in nomber, and had the haille hartis of the subiectis vpon ther fyd.

I was very laith to stay behind the Regent, baith because I had promysed to affist and tak part with him, and also because I had obtainit a teind of the bischoprik of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes, of the landis of Lethem befyd Monimell, geuen be the Erle of Murray to Mester Hendre Balnaves, wherof I had na takis bot possession, be raifoun that the bischop for the tym in Dombartan wes forfeited; sa the said tend wes in the Regentis power to dispone to any vther, yet he had maid me promyse that I fuld bruk it. I tald Mester Randolphe, that the said tendis mycht be in danger to be disponit, incaice I wer absent fra the Regent. "Tufch," he said, "I am tutour at this tym to the Regent; I fall not only warrant your teind, bot fall cause yow get a better gift;" and promysed in the mean tym to wret a letter vnto the Regent, wha wes alredy riden, to let him know that he had stayed me, to draw on agrement between my frendis of the castell and him; willing him not to dispon sic a teind fra me till any vther. Howbeit I knew him to be

a double dealer and a fawer of discord ; yet I culd not beleue, that he wald abuse me or hurt me in any thing, being fa far addetted to me during his baniffement in France for religion, during the regne of Quen Mary. Nether wald I blob the paper with this mekle concernyng my perticulair, wer not to declair the ftrange practyfes of princes in matters of eftait.

Now I being stayed at Randolpbes defyre, his firft propofition to me was, to defyre the capten of the caftell till agre and affift the Regent. I tald him that I fupponit he fuld do it with tym, bot not fa haiftely ; and that fame anfwer I brocht to him bak again, with a request fra the Lard of Grange to be plane with him, for ther had bene alfo gret frendfchip betwen them in France. Efter fome ceremonies and proteftations of fecrefie, he laid, “ Tell your frend this far fra Mefter Randolphe, bot not fra the Englis ambaffadour, that ther is no lawfull autorite in Scotland bot the Quenis ; fche will prevaill at lenth, and therfore hir courfe is fureft, and beft for hym to jun him felf with them of hir faction.” This wes the help he maid to the Regent, wha lippenit that his only ambaffage and labours was to aduance his autorite and obedience vnder the King. I feamed to be very weill fatiffied with this healthfome advyfe, and pafst vp to the caftell, and tald the capten and his affociatis na mair nor I had affured them of at my commyng hame out of Berwik.

The Lard of Grange wes ftill myndit to byd at the Kingis autoritie, feing that to be factious in hir name, during hir abfens and captiuite, mycht do hir mair euell then gud, and be occafion of gret bludfcheding amang the fubiectis, be the malice of the ringleaders of England, and parcialites of a few in Scotland ; and wes affecten bot a meit occafion how to mak agrement betwen the parties. In the mean tym, I pafst vp

and down betwen them of the castell and Mester Randolph, wha gaif me another commiffion, to wit, incaice the tua Quenis of England and Scotland agre betwen them felues, to appoint ane Englis man to be capten of the castell of Edenbrough, and fend vnto him a wretting fubfcriuit with baith ther handis; gif he wald condiscend alfo, for gret commodite to him felf, to delyuer the faid castell vnto that perfone that fuld be apponted. This he refused vtterly, in ane gret anger. This was all the gud agrement that Mester Randolphe and I maid during the Regentis abfence; and in ftead to remember the Regent not to difpone my tendis, he had a dealing with the tutor of Pitcur be the paffing betwen of George Halybroutoun, that he caufed them fut my teindis of Lethem at the Regent, and tald that how I wanted fufficient securite. And when the Regent wes returnit to Edenbrough, and I infourmed Mester Randolph of ane outgait how to get my tendis again, and remembrit him of his promyfe, he faid, that the Regent wes fa ftubborn and of fa euell a natour, that he culd not deall with him. Then I burfted out and tald him, how that his practyfes wer weall enough perfauit; and wheras it apperit that he wald caufe me not only abandon the Regent, bot alfo be ane instrument to perfuad the Lard of Grange to be vpon the contrary faction, I wald not be that instrument, nor leaue the Kingis courfe thoch he fuld caufe tak fra me the reft of my landis.

Seing that Grange culd not yet be moued to jun with the Quenis faction, as the court of England defyred, (for the reft of the contre of England wer fory to fe this kynd of dealing,) the Englifche ambaffadour perfuadit the Regent to caft him aff, be dyuers wrangis and leichtlies done to him felf and his dependares. In the mean tym my L. Duc, the Erles of Argyll and Huntly, addreffit them vnto hym, and

maid ther mean, how that they, being noblemen of the contre, wer refused to be in societe with the rest, wha focht ther wrak vnder pretext of the Kingis autorite, be the Regent, the Erle of Mortoun and some vthers ther vnfrendis ; requesting him to be ther protectour and help them during the Kingis minorite ; and how that they at the first wald fayn haue affited the Kingis autorite, bot culd not get place nor be admitted. Sa he that wes vilipendit with the Kingis lordis, and futed be the Quenis lordis, was compellit to jun with that fyd at lenth ; having with him the Lord Hum malcontent, also the secretary Liddingtoun and Sir James Balfour, spurring him to tak that course. Being sa casten af, he was compellit, for his nyxt refuge, to jun planly with the Quenis fyd, efter that he amang the rest was fumondit to be forfalted, as ye fall heir.

- P.** 125. Now the twa furious factions being framed on this maner, the hat-trent and rage against vther grew daily greter and greter. For Mester Randolphe knew the diuerfities that wer amang the noblemen and the nature of euery ane in particulaire, be his oft commyng and lang residence in Scotland. Amang the ladyes, he had a mother and a mestrres, to whom he caused his Quen oft fend commendations and takens. He also vfed his craft with the ministers, and offerit gold to dyuers of them. Ane of tham that wes very honest, refused his gift ; bot he tald that his compaignion tok it, as be way of charite. I am not certane gif any of the rest tok presentis, bot vndoubtedly he offerit to sic as wer in meateft rowmes, to cry out against factions heir or ther, and kendle the fercer fyre ; sa that the parties wer not content to feicht and sched vthers bluid, bot wald flyet with injurious and blaffemus wordis, and at lenth fell to the down casting of vtheris houffes ; wherunto England

lent ther help, be a number of men of wair, that cam in and cuft down Hamiltoun, becaufe of a mynt that wes maid be fome gud minifters till agre the twa parties.

Then as Nero ftod vp vpon a hich part of Rome, to fe the toun burnyng quhilk he had caufed fet on fyre, fa Mefter Randolphe delyted to fe fic fyre kendlit in Scotland ; and be his wretingis to fome in the court of England, glorified him felf to haue brocht it till pafs, in fic sort that it fuld not be gottin eafely flokenit again. Whilk when it cam to the knowlege of Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, he wret in Scotland to my brother and me, and aduertift us how we wer handled ; detefting baith Mefter Cicill as director, and Mefter Randolphe as executour. As I haue faid, all the honeft men in England wer fory at it ; of the quhilk nomber ther ar as many within that contre, as in any vther fa mekle boundis in Europe.

My brother and I fchew vnto the Lard of Grange, and to famany within the caftell as wer fecret, of this wreting from Sir Nycholas ; quhilk they beleued eafely, as men that had gret intelligence, and that had marked Mefter Randolfhes proceedingis of befoire. Wherupon ther was fome fecret metingis drawen on, betwen the Lord Hum and the Lord Ruthven, as neir kinfmen. The L. Ruthven was in greteft fauour with the Regent for the tym, and treforer. He was defyred to com and fpeak with my L. Hum, during the hettest of the ciuill warres. At what tym, the fecretary Liddington and my brother entrit with the Lord Ruthven, efter that he and the L. Hum had fpoken a fpaice together, and fchew him how that the Regent wes vfed be England, and how that the contre wes vfed ; and alfo how that the Erle of Morton had defyred fecretly to com at midnycht, accompanied with Mefter Archebald Douglas, to the caftell of Edenbrough, and had lang confer-

ence with them; defyring ther affistance, and he fuld chaife the Erle of Lenox bak till England, sa that they wald accept and acknawlege him for Regent in sted of the other. Quhilk they of the castell wald not grant to do, bot lyked weill of the Erle of Lenox, as of a trew Scottisman; and that ther lying abak fra affisting him wes, he being send for and brocht in by them. And therefore fearit at the first, that he wald be ouer far at the deuotion of England, as ane Englisman hauing yet his wyf, bairnis, and landis in that contre; and mairouer, that he fuld be sa led be the Erle of Morton, and vthers factious ennemys to the L. Hum [and] the secretaire, that he wald seak ther vtter wrak; baith because that capten Craffort, wha had accused the secretair, was seruant

P. 126. for the tym to the Erle of Lenox, and allegit that he had commiffion fra the said Erle to geue in the said accusation. And that quhilk geue matter anough to my L. Hum, was the inbringing of the Erle of Lenox be the Erle of Suffex, and the taking of his tua houses of Hum and Falscastell, all at a tym, quhilk he supponit not to be done by the Erle of Lenox consent. Bot sen they vnderstod how the Erle of Lenox, and the haill contre wes bot abused and misvved with England be Mester Randolphe, affisted with the Erle of Mortoun, they wer deliberat baith till agre them selues, and to cause all Scotland agre with the Regent, gene they can get a<sup>r</sup>aisonable meeting.

My L. Ruthven was very glaid of this offer, and said he hopped to bring them a meting and a gud answer fra the Regent; and the rather because the Erle of Mortoun [was] absent, as a mall content for the refusing to him of the bischoprik of St Androwes, quhilk the Kingis house and the Regentis mycht ill spair. Sa he returnit to the Regent with this offer, wha tok it in a very gud part; and efter anis or tuyse passing

betwen, the Regent with the L. Ruthven had concludit a paice quyety in ther myndis, making nane preuy therto as yet. Bot as ambaffadouris ar gret spyas, and commonly fuspitious, Mester Randolphe wha lay at Leith, delt ernerstly with the Regent to geue the bifchoprick of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes to the Erle of Morton ; and allegit that the Quen his meftres had wreten to him in chiffer for that effec, quhilk fche fuld recompense to him with a better commodite ; and that hir Maiefte wald be very angry incaice he did it not, as he fuld caufe hir handwret to com to him felf theranent.

Sa when the Regent had granted this to Mester Randolphe, he aduertift incontynent the Erle Mortoun to com to the court, quhilk he did with diligence, and vfed all the contrary practyses that he culd to hender any gud agrement ; for as he had fished that benifice in dromly watters, he hopped to fische mair be sic meanis. Ane of his deuycas was, to canfe the confaill vot and direct the Erle of Bouchan, to tak me prifoner out of my awen houle ; bot I wes at a brydell in Forthell, wher the faid erle cam, and with whom I went willingly, albeit I had frendis anew ther for the tym, that offerit to chaife him bak again. Bot I wald not preuge my juft caufe without purpos ; for the Erle Bouchen was of a difcret and gentill natur, and fchew me that they had nathing to ley to my charge, bot to fe gif I culd be ane gud instrument of concord ; and willit me when I wes in Leith, to fend vp word to the caftell of Edenbrough, and allege that my lyf wes in parell, incaice they wald not render the houle to the Regent. I faid, that it wes a bairnly taill, and maruelit of ther wifdome, that mycht knaw how my frendis of the caftell wer angrier at me then they wer, for not taking part with them.

The lard of Grange wes not content when he hard that I wes tane ;



for he knew how oft I had preffit and perfwadit him to tak plan part with the Regent, and how far I had raifonnit againft the fecretary and Sir James Balfour, in ther proceadingis with the Quenis faction ; feing that fche was captywe, in fic fort as nother mycht fche mak them help, nor they hir, except that fche wald be the ftraitlyer gardit and kepit in England. Hearing a faction to be ryfen vp in hir name, wald fuppone that fche was in fome hope of haifty liberte, be fome practyfes with the fubiect in England. Sir James Balfour allegit, that hir Maiefte had frendis in France and vther partis, wha wald the rather do for hir, that they vnderftod a number of hir nobilite yet on fut profefing hir autorite. I faid that hir only frendis in vther partis, wer in

P. 127. England and France : they that wer in England durft not prefently, and wald be in the harder eftait, and in greter danger, for the fufpition that wald be had of them ; and hir French frendis wald do hir na gud ; the Quen mother, wha had the cheif reull of the contre, being hir gret ennemy ; and the houfe of Guife nather able to mak hir help, nor yet wer they fur frendis ; as I fall fchaw at mair lenth the proif of my argument, when I haue releauit my felf out ther handis that kepit me.

I was declairen, how that the lard of Grange was angry at my taking. I being fa frac for the Regent, and he fa willing to jun with him. That fame nycht, he fend down a woman out of the caftell to Leith, with a ticket to me, that he fuld com that fame nycht at midnycht, and releaue me out of ther handis ; and had fend that fame woman to knaw how I was keped, and wher I was logit. The Regentis camp lay between Leith and Edenbrough, and many of the noblemen and barrons logit in Leith, for euery ane had not pauillons. The lard of Grange had aponted a boit to ly at Granton, and thocht to com failen in to

Leith heuen, as gif it wer a boit com ouer the watter ; and thocht caldly without ftraik to com to my loging, and tak me out of my kepers handis, and pafs vp the watter again, to a part wher he had horfmen in a redines to cary me vp to the caftell with him. Bot I wald in na wayes consent therto, affuring him that I was in na danger, and that my L. of Bouchan had promysed me, ay when I plefit, to let me fteall away ; quhilk I wald not do, but defyred daily to be tryed. Many of the lordis meruelit wherfor I was tane, feing that I affifted ay with the Regent fen his entre in Scotland. Lykwais the Regent wes mifcontent ; fa at lenth it was found, that a very few confellouris knew of my taking. The Erle of Mar a trew nobleman faid, that the Erle of Bouchan, for fuffring himfelf to be fend, was dafter nor the formair erle his gudfather, wha wes not very wyfe ; bot the Erle of Morton fend me word, that nathing fuld ail me mair nor his awen hart. For the faffion, they defyred me to find caution, that I fuld ferue the Kingis Maiefte and his Regent. Sa I wes neuer brocht before the confaill, bot fet to liberte. Of a treuth, I culd not fe a raifoun to fet vp twa factions fa lang as the Quen wes captywe, nor yet culd fe any outgait for them that profellit hir autorite ; wha wald fayn haue affifted the Kingis lordis, bot wer not accepted, and therfor neceffite drawe them to deffend them felues vnder the fchadow of fome autorite.

The reft of my raifouns, why the Quen wald get na help out of France be hir awen frendis, nor yet be the Quen mother, ar thir. The Quen mother wes not weall vfed, fa lang as our Quenis firft husband K. Francis 2. lyued. The confaill and eftaitis of France defyres not the vnion of this yll. For proif, efter that my brother Sir Robert, when he retournit the firft tym of his ambaflage out of England, brocht

the hand wretis of xxv principall erles and lordis of England, to fet the crown of England vpon the Quen of Scotlandis head ; and that the  
128. captens in fchyres wer alredy named be the faidis lordis, to be in a redines to marche fordwart when they fuld be chargit ; only they stay- ed vpon the Quenis opportunitie and aduertifment. The Quen incont- inent wret in France, to hir oncle the Cardinall of Lorrain, willing him to fend heir ane of his maift fecret faruandis ; to whom fche mycht communicat matters of fic wecht and importance, that fche wald nother hazard to fend them in wret nor chiffers. The faid Cardinall fend in heir ane of his famylier secretares ; to whom the Quen caufed my brother and me declair at lenth, the maner of the eftait of England, as is abone fpecified ; defyren hir faid oncle to fend his aduyfe anent the tym, and word what help he and all his frendis with ther moyen mycht mak, to land other few or many fchippis, bot with a contenance of men, at fic a part of England ; and gif he and they mycht mak na help, to kepe fecret ; it wald be eafely enough brocht till pafs. This fecretair being retournit to his maifter, infourmed him of the haill matter. The cardinall again, to won thankis of the Quen mother, and to appear to be a trew Frenchman, fchew the Quen mother, how hurtfull to the crown of France wald the vnion of the yll of Bretan be ; and thocht met that fche fuld aduertife the Quen of England to tak ordour therintill, quhilk the Quen mother failed not to do. Bot the Quen of England gaif hir na credit, bot rather fupponit it to be ane Italien fetche, to put hir in fufpition of hir nobilite. This the Quenis Maiefte tald me hir felf, complenen of the cardinallis vnkyndly dealing. Therfor I faid, that ther wes na help to be loked for out of France ; and the Duc of Alb, wha was in Flanders, had planly refused

to mak any help, till the K. his mester wald command him ; and that he had enough ado, to fattle his maifters awen fubiectis in Flanders.

Thir wer the argumentis that I vfed to moue my frendis to agre with the Regent ; and they wer at a neir point, be the dealing of the tua lordis Hum and Ruthven, affifted be the fecretary Lidingtoun ; for the Lord Hum wald then do nathing without his aduyfe.

Bot efter that the Erle of Morton wes returnit to the court, and had obteanit the bifchopry of St Androwes, be Mester Randolpes moyen, they tua fufpecting the apperant agrement, quhilk wes kepit fecret from them, deuysed incontinent how to hender the fame, be the holding of a parlement, wherin to forfalt all ther ennemys ; wherby the Regent fuld wrak vtterly his ancient ennemys the Hammiltens, and euery ane of the Kingis lordis fuld get landis and geir anough ; and Mester Randolph promysed fic fecfull affiftance of England, that ther culd be na refiftance maid be ther ennemys. The Erle of Mortoun again had gret gyding of the maift part of the confaill, to perfuad them consent to a parlement, to be halden in Stirling for the foirlaid effect.

The Quenis lordis again, to be equall with them, held another parlement at Edenbrough, baith at a tym, ilk ane till forfalt vther. The Lard of Grange in the mean tym had gret displeafour to fee Scottifmen fa furiously bent againft vther, be the practyfes of England, and extream gredines of fome Scottis lordis, that intendit till augment ther rentis, be the wrak of fome of ther nybours whom they enuyed. Therefore fend for the lard of Fernieft his gud fone, and the lard of Baclouch, father to this present lard, wha louit the lard of Grange better than any of his awen kin ; quhilk lard of Baclouch was a man of rare qualiteu, wyfe, trew, ftout and modest. Thir twa lardis wer defyred to

com weall accompanied, and arryuit at Edenbrough in ane euenyng lait. The lard of Grange had alredy deuyfed ane enterpryse, to wit, that same nycht efter they had soupped them felues and baitted ther horse, to ryd all nycht fordwart with them to Stirling, to be ther early in the mornyng or any of the lordis that held the parlement wer out of ther beddis; hopping be his intelligence affuredly to furpryse them before they culd be aduertift. All the lordis and confaill fand his deuyce exceding gud, bot they wald in na wayes grant that he fuld ryd with them, alleging that ther only confort vnder God confisted in the preferuation of his persone. He again allegit that his presens with them wald be nedfull, for he wes experimented with difficill enterpryses, and fearit that they fuld not folow richtly nor cairfully his direction; bot they promyfed to folow it restricktly, and wald not suffer him to ryd with them. Bot the Erle of Huntly, my L. Arbroith, and my Lord of Paiceley and dyuers others, raid fordwart with the forces of the twa lardis, and wer at Stirling before four houres in the mornyng, and entred in the toun of Stirling at a little passage, led be a townis man callit George Bell; quhilk entre wes immediatly efter that the nycht watches wer retiret to ther rest. Sa being the first aduertisers, they deuydit ther men, and appointed sic as wer thocht meatest to await vpon euery lordis loging, and a company with Capten Hackerftoun to stand at the market croife, to cause gud ordour be kepit, and to saif the town houses from being spoilzed; only the stables to be cleangit be Baclough and Farnihestis men, not to leaue a horse in the town oncaried away with them; quhilk the southland childer forget not to do for ther part. Bot becaufe Capten Hackerftoun cam not in dew tym with his company to stand wher he was appointed, a number of vnrewly faruandis

brak vp the marchandis boithes, and ran heir and ther in difordour efter the fpoilge, and left ther maifters ther alain, efter they had tane out the haill lordis out of ther logingis, and wer leading them captyues doun the ftay caffay of Stirling vpon fut, intending to loup vpon ther horfe at the nether port, and ryd till Edenbrough with ther prifoners. Bot when they that wer within the caftell of Stirling perfauit the gret rouffill and fchame they wald refaue, gene they fchew not them felues lyk men, and feing the difordour of ther ennemys, they cam down fercely vpon them and refcowed them all, faving the Regent that anc cam and fchot behind his bak, directed fra my L. of Pacelay as was al-legit. The Lard of Wilmeftoun wes the taker of the Regent, and wes appointed be the lard of Grange to await vpon him, and to faif him from his particuleir ennemys ; for they all promysed him at ther parting fra Edenbrough not to fla a man, or elis he wald not grant to byd behind them. Wilmeftoun wes alfo flain, againft the Regentis will, wha cryed continowaly to faif Wilmeftoun, wha did what he culd for his preferuation. The Regent died not fodaynly, bot fome dayes efter, and maid a very godly end. They that had tint this fair enterpryfe for falt of Granges prefens, had anough a do to faif them felues, and had bene all tane, wer not they of Stirling wantit horfe to perfew efter them ; for they that had tane the horfe, raid ther gaitis with all poffible fpeid, and left ther maifters behind them in danger.

P. 130. When they wer retournit bak till Edenbrough, they wer very vn-welcom geftis to the lard of Grange ; wha lamented hauely for the Regentis flachter, and faid, gene he knew wha did that foull deid, or wha directed it to be done, he fuld tak reuenge therof with his awen hand. And wheras of before he vied to be meak and gentill, he now bourfted



out with hard langage against the disorder and gredines of them, and callit them snafflers and beaftis ; for he knew the Regent inclynit to the paice, and wes not yngnorant how he wes dryuen be Mester Randolphe and the Erle of Mortouns practyfes, to hald the said parlement, to the hendrance of concord and agrement. Therfore his intention was to bring all the Kingis lordis to the castell of Edenbrough, and fet down a gud agrement before they fuld get fourth ; bot God wald not haue it till our vickednes mycht be better puniffed ; for the parlementis held fordwart, and ilk ane of the tua parties forfalted vthers.

The Kingis lordis cam and lay at Leithe, and the Quenis within the town and castell of Edenbrough. Mester Randolphe wald haue had the Erle of Mortoun maid Regent, in plaice of the Erle of Lenox ; bot the lordis lyked better of the Erle of Mar, and cheifed him. For a whyll ther wes het skirmyffching betwen Leith and Enbrough, and extrem hattrent betwen the twa factions, and gret creweltie wher they mycht be maifter of vther ; and oft tymes the marschall of Berwik cam to Leith, to affist Mester Randolphe inwartly, and to find fault with his proceedingis outwardly, when he mycht get opportunitie to fpeak or fend word to them of the toun of Edenbrough and castell therof. Quhilk my L. of Mars frendis perfault, and him felf at lenth ; wherthrow he began to be caulder in the quarell, and drew him felf to Stirling, and aduyfed with his frendis what was metest to be done ; alleging that he culd fe nathing bot the wrak of the contre, vnder pretext of King and Quenis faction or authorite ; and that nother King nor Quen was in any of ther myndis, bot only pouffit be ther awen parcialites of ambition, gredines, and vengeance ; England kendlen vp baith parties, and then lauchen them all to fcorne.

Efter this conference, Capten James Kuningame feruant to my L. of Mar, a discreit gentilman, defyred a fecret meting with my brother Sir Robert. In the mean tym, the maift part of the Kingis lordis pait to Stirling wher the Regent wes, leauing my L. of Mortoun in Dalkeith, and my L. Lindfay in Leith. When the warres grew caulder, and word thairof cam to ther knowlege in England, a new ambaffadour wes haifted to com in Scotland, to wit Mefter Hary Killigrew, ane auld frend and acquaintance of myn; for Mefter Randolphe wes retournit hame, becaufe he had not fic credit with the Erle of Mar, and had loft the fauour of baith the factions, except only with the Erle of Mortoun; for his double dealing was difcouert.

This new ambaffadour being arryuit at Leith, vpon his way toward Stirling wher the Regent remanit for the tym, he fend vp to the caftell of Edenbrough to fe gif I wes ther, for they had tald him in Leith, that I wes new com ouer the watter. He defyred that I wald  
P. 131. com and fpeak with him; quhilk I did, and convoyed him vnto Cramont, raifonyng together all the way vpon fic matters as he faid he had in commiffion, cheifly how he mycht be a gud instrument to agre the differentis that was betwen the twa parties; albeit ther was na-thing les in his mynd, at leaft in his commiffion. He faid he had commiffion from the Quen his meftres, to deall with baith the parties for ther concord; bot mair cairfully, and with the aduyfe of manyer loving frendis, vnto them of the caftell then with ther contrair party. And albeit that outwardly he behoued firft to pafs wher the Regent was, to geue him that prerogatywe, yet in effect my frendis of the caftell fuld be preferrit, baith be his firft falutation to them be me, and be twa famylier wrettingis, the ane from my L. of Leycifter to the lard of



Mortoun, or elis to look for na frendſchip out of the court of England, bot hurt and wrak ſa far as they mycht. For albeit he wes not Regent, they knew that he had a gret frendſchip in the contre, quhilk they wald increaſe ſa far as they culd ; that whoſoever wer Regent, fuld get litle or nathing done by his conſent. In this I thoct he delt planly, and ſa did my frendis of the caſtell ; yet they culd not find in ther hartis to jun with him, albeit he futed them and offerit to hald vp the Quenis autorite ; for they thoct his courſe vnſure for the King and ſateling of the eſtair, and ouer far addicted to England.

Efter that this ambaffadour nad bene with the Regent in Stirling, and com bak again to Edenbrough, he tald the reſt of his commiſſion to them of the caſtell ; to whom he vſed him ſelf bot lyk ane ambaffadour, as he was directed. Generally he ſayd, that he fand them mair raifonable than the Regentis party. Then he paſt to Dakeith, to meit with the Erle of Mortoun ; and then ſtayed at Edenbrough, to await vpon meit occaſions and informations, how to procead conform to the tenour of his inſtructions.

This new ambaffadour had commandement to tary in Scotland for  
 P. 132. a tym, to ſe gif he mycht conquys aſmekle credit as to ſerue ther turn that ſent him. And becauſe I wes of his greateſt acquaintance, he cam with me to my houſe, and taried a few dayes to refreſche his ſpirit. And efter that I had convoyed him bak again to Edenbrough, he ſchew me ſome articles of his inſtructions, ane of the quhilkis wes :  
 “ Item, gif the capten of the caſtell will condifcend, that all the diferentis that ar now in queſtion amang the Scotis, be referrit to be difcydit before us and our conſaill, as the reſt of the Kingis lordis haue granted alredy, we ſalbe his gud frendis, and mentean him in his office,

wald agre. I said that the lard of Grange wald not sell his dewty to his prince and contre, for na commodite, bot wald ferue the King and his Regent to setle the estait, fa lang as the Quen wes detenit in England; and gene God pleased to grant hir libertie, they douted not bot that sche and the King hir sone fuld agre betwen them selues, wherunto all honest and gud subiectis on baith fydis wald hald hand. And presently, they for ther partis defyred na mans land nor geir, but only to bruik peiceably ther awen lyuyngis; only that the Regent wald cause pay certain dettis, contracted for repairing of the castell and arteillerie. Quhilk conditions the Regent promysed to fulfill, and to be ane assured frend to Grange, and them of the castell in particulaire; and without any

P. 133. farther cerimonies, callit the lard of Tullibarden his gud brother before, and efter that he had declaired vnto hym how far we had proceedit, he choppit his hand in myn, and swore the paice in presence of the said lard; wha had also bene a gud instrument to the said agreement, togither with his man of law, Mester Clement Litle, a very honest man, brother to Willyem Litle, efterwart prouest of Edenbrough. Na ma wer maid preuy therto, bot my Lady Mar and Capten James Kuningame.

Efter this the Regent past till Edenbrough, to convene the lordis and counsaill, to schew them the calamities that the ciuill warres produced, and let them se how necessarie agreement and ane sattelit estait wald be to the haill contre. And in the mean tyme, vntill the appoynted counsaill day, he past to Dalkeith, wher he wes weill traited and banketed with my Lord of Mortoun. And schortly efter, he tok a vehement seaknes, quhilk caused him ryd to Stirling fodayly, wher he departed this lyf, and wes regreted of many. Some of his frendis and the vul-

gair people, fpak and fufpected that he had gottin wrang, and others, that it wes for difpleafour.

The Erle of Mortoun, efter the difcefe of the Erle of Mar, was maid Regent, England helping therto at ther power. Sa fchone as he was chofen, he fent for me ; declairen how that againft his mynd and will, the lordis had bourdenit him with that falchious office ; quhilk feing he behoued till accept, he wald wifs that he mycht ftand the contre and commown weall in fome fteid. Firft, he wald defyre the help of all gud and honeft men, to draw on peace and concord, to the quyeting of the eftait ; preing me, as ane of whom he had euer a gud lyking, to trauell with my frendis of the caftell for that effect, and to perfuad them to ga forduart with him, as they wer myndit to do with the Erle of Mar ; affuring me, that nane of the formair Regentis had at any tym bene mair willing then he was prefently, to put ane end to the ciuill troubles, nor that fuld remember les vpon the parcialites pait ; and that the Regent fuld not reuenge the Erle of Mortouns quarelis, bot wha euer wald ferue the King and be his frend, he wald embrace them and debait them, vpon what fyd or faction foeuer they had bene of before ; and luk vpon what conditions they delt with the Erle of Mar, they fuld haue the fame or better of him. I fuld haue the pryourie of Pittenweme for my labour ; the lard of Grange, the bifchoprik of Santandrowes, and caftell of Blaknes ; and euery ane that wer within the caftell, reftored to ther landis and poffeffions as of before.

It was very hard to bring on this agrement with the Erle of Mortoun, for the euell oppinion quhilk was conceaued of him, and for the foull and hurtfull markis that they fupponit, be fome proifis and ap-  
perances, that he wald fchut at ; being ouer gredy of nature, ouer gret

with England, and ouer fearfull that the K. wald be his wrak; wher-  
of a lady that was his leman, had schawen him the answeres of the  
oracles. Yet the lard of Grange, wha was euer willing to se concord  
in the contre, was easely persuadit. The L. Hum and Liddington maid  
some resistance at the first, bot wer also content at lenth. Sa that  
after I had past tyme or thryfe betwen, they apperit to be agreed in  
ther hartis; and for supperabondance, the lard of Grange said, that he  
fuld cause all the rest of the Quenis faction to agre with the Regent;  
bot to tak the bischoprie of S' Androwes and the castell of Blaknes he  
refused, and wald haue nathing bot his awen landis.

P. 134. When I returnit to the Regent, with ther answer conform to his  
desyre, he was maruelous glaid; bot when I declaired, that the lard of  
Grange wald be a gud instrument, to cause all the rest of the Quenis  
faction agre also with him, he said that it was not meit. And when I  
raisonit against him, and schew him how that I had spoken in his name,  
that he was myndit to agre all Scotland, and that Grange had na qua-  
rell of his awen, bot to help a number of noblemen that requyred his  
protection during the Kingis minorite; and requested the Regent till  
agre anes with them altogether, for Grange honour, and efterwart he  
and all they of the castell fuld band with him, and lay a fyd all vther  
bandis. The Regent answerit and said, "James, I will be plane with  
you. It is not my weill to agre with them all; then ther faction wil-  
be as stark as it is, wherby they may some day circumvene me gif they  
lyked. Therefore it is my weill to devyd them; and mair ouer, ther  
hes bene gret combres in this contre this whyll bygain, and during  
them, gret wrangis and extortions committed, for the quhilk some fa-  
ction of punissement mon be maid; and I wald rather that the crymes

fuld be layed and liecht vpon the Hamiltouns, the Erle of Huntely and ther adherentis, then vpon your frendis ; and by that, I will get mair proffit be ther wrak, nor be the wrak of them of the castell, that haue nother sa gret landis nor escheitis for us to wonne, and for to be the reward of our laboures. Therefore schaw Grange and your frendis, that other mon they agre by the Hammiltouns, therles of Huntly and Argyll, or the saidis lordis will agre without him and them of the castell." To this I answerit, that I vnderstod him ; that his speach wes very plain.

With this I past again to the castell, and reherfit our haill reasonyng. Bot Grange said, that it wes na godly nor iust dealing, to lay the wyet vpon them that was richest, for ther landis and geir, and not vpon them that wer guiltyeft ; for the noblemen wer ay willing till agre, efter that the Quen wes kepit in England, bot culd not be admitted. And yet, gene now they wald abandoun him, and agre by him and them that wer with him, he had deserued better at ther handis ; yet he had rather that they fuld leawe and disceawe him, then that he fuld do it vnto them.

When the Erle of Mortoun persauit that Grange stode stif vpon his honestie and reputation, he apperit to lyk him the better, and seamed that he wald ga fordwart with them of the castell ; and send vp Carmichell, at my desyre, to heir out of ther awen mouthes sa far as I had spoken in ther name. They of the castell lykways send Pittadrow to the Regent, to heir out of his awen mouth sa far anent the agreement as I had said to them in his name. This I did for my discharge, whatsoeuer mycht chance efterwart.

Then the Regent asked, at what tym the castell of Edenbrough fuld

be delyuerit vnto him. I said, within half year. "What securete," said he, "fall I haue for that." I said, I fuld be a plege, gif he wald accept me. Then he inquyred, wherfore I tok sa lang delay. I said, for the first, till all articles and promyses mycht be perfourmed ; and lykwayes, because he said that he euer estemed the lard of Grange to be ane honest man, yet be wrang reportis and practyses, the ministers wer sterit vp to cry out and preach against him ; therfor to mak him the mair able, and geue him the greter curage to serue in tym comyng,

P. 135. it wald be a contentement to his mynd to let the warld se that, asweill efter the agrement as before, he fuld be estymed alyk honest and worthy to kepe the house ; and then at the tym apponted, the Regent fuld be requested to resauue the castell out of his handis. He apperit to be very weill content with this maner of dealing, and gaif me gret thankis for the trauell that I had tane ; willing me to pass hame, and he in the mean tym fuld conuene the rest of the noblemen of his fyd, and schew them of his proceedingis, and tak ther aduysé and consent to this gud purpos, quhilk he douted not to get ; and thereafter fuld send for me again, and put the form of the agrement in wret.

Bot he tok incontinent another course, and send a meit man to the Hammiltouns, the Erles of Huntly, Argyll, and ther dependers and assisters, and offerit them the pacification, by the lard of Grange and them of the castell ; quhilk they glaidly agreed vnto without many ceremonies, and send ther wrettingis instantly to the lard of Grange out of S<sup>t</sup> Jhonstoun, lamenting that the necessite of ther hard and strait estait fuld compell them to accept the appontement quhilk the Regent had offred vnto them ; preing him not to tak it in ane euell part, seing they had na house nor strenth to reteir them into ; and gaif him gret

thankis for the help and assistance that he had maid vnto them, quhilk they fuld never forget, sa lang as God wald lend them ther lyues.

This was the recompence that this gud gentilman obteanit, for the gret help, hazard and charges done and maid for thir lordis ; not beleuing that the Regent wald be sa malicious as to cast him aff, and not accept his frendship, quhilk he offerit incontinent efter that the rest wer agreed by him. Bot the Regent fra that tym fourth wald heir of na offer, and perswadit the rest of his faction, that they of the castell wer sa proud and sa wilfull, that they wald not grant to serue the King, nor acknowlege him as Regent. And this was publissit and prechit, and yet the contrary was trew ; for they wald haue tane any raifonable appontement. What rage wes in the Regentis mynd, for gredines of ther landis and geir, or what vther thing fuld haue moued him to bring in England with ane armye, to besege the castell of Edenbrough, to the dishonour of his prince and contre. Quhilk castell wes offerit a litle of before, to the Erle of Rothies, to be instantly delyuerit into his handis, to be keped to the Regentis behoue, quhilk wes refused ; sa that apperantly he had some vther fetch in his head, then a man estemed sa wyse fuld haue had, feing that he mycht haue obtenit his intent without the help of England, having all Scotland at his deuotion, saving that few nomber within the castell, that wald haue agreed till any mediocre conditions.

The castell of Edenbrough then wes straitly besegit, with ane Englis armye vnder the conduit of the marchall of Barwik, assisted be all Scotland. They within, feing they culd not be resaut till any composition, debated sa lang as they had any vitales and watter ; for ther draw well dried be the drouthy sommer, and they had na vther watter bot sic as

they fetched, letting men with cordes down ouer the wallis and craig of the castell, to a well on the west fyd, quhilk wes efterwart poisomit; wherthrow fa many as eschaped the schot, died, and the rest fell deadly  
P. 136. feak. Yet the lard of Grange tok in hand, with aucht perfones, to kepe the castell on tane be force; of the quhilk nomber the Lord Hum wes ane, my twa brether Sir Robert and Androw, the lard of Pittadrow, and his brother Patrik Echlin.

This resolution being tane, the lard of Cleifhe and Mathow Coluill his brother wer sent to the castell, femyng to mak them offers of apontement. Bot ther intent was, to get intelligence of the estait of the house, and to seduce the soldiours that wer yet alyve; quhilk they did, fa that some fled out ouer the wallis, and vthers wer schot fourth; for the capten thocht the house in a surer estait, baith for vitalles and vtherwayes, when they wer fourth. The marchall of Barwik feing na apperance to com sped, entrit in contention with the ambassadour, alleging that the Quen his mestres wald get a dishonour, and said he wald tary na langer. Wherupon they without entrit in a new commonnyng, and send vp again the lard of Cleifche, to offer them to com fourth with ther armour, bag and baggage; quhilk was agreed vpon, and that they fuld be restored to ther landis. And because ther landis wer for the tym in vther mens possession, it wes put in ther awen will, whither they wald pass in England with the marchall of Barwik, or remain in Scotland amang ther frendis, vntill sic promyses as wer maid them mycht be fulfillit.

The Englis men defyred that the castell sould be put in ther handis; bot Grange sent secretly to capten Hum and capten Craffort, and defyred them to com and ly within the bulwark between the house and



the Englis men. Sa he pat the castell in handis of Scotis men, and his perfone to pafs in England with the marchall, wha was his frend, vntill all promyses mycht be keped to him and the rest, be the meanis of the Quen of England.

On this maner they cam fourth, efter that George Douglas, naturall brother to the Regent, had refaut the houe. They had all ther weapons and swordis about them, and wer thre dayes at liberte. Sir Robert lay with me at his awen loging. The lard of Grange and the secretary Liddingtoun remanit yet with the marchall of Barwik in his loging, for ther greter securete, becaufe that the people of the town of Edenbrough wer ther gret ennemys. For except a few that taried within the town, during the ciuill troubles between the parties that lay in Edenbrough and Leith, the maist part of the richeft men and marchandis left the town, and paf till Leith to tak part with the Regent; therefore ther houfes wer spoilged, and they bure gret hattrent to them of the castell.

Bot at the end of thre dayes, they wer all layed handis vpon and keped as prifoners. For some of ther maist malicious ennemys pat easely in the Regentis head, and in the ambassadours, that it wer weall done to request the Quen of England to cause delyuer the haill company in the Regentis handis, to be difponed vpon at his pleasour; alleging that they had na securete bot a bair promyse, quhilk they nedit not till keip. And becaufe they of the castell repofed maist vpon the promyse of the marchall of Barwik, the marchallis wreting wes fa preuenit be the ambassadour, that the Quen of Englandis schairp lettre cam to the marchall, to delyuer them of the castell to the Regent; quhilk he durft not difobey, bot delyuerit them with gret regret, be

raifoun of his promyse, and returnit malcontent to Barwik. And they of the castell wer put in strait keping, and efterwart new lettres wer purchessit be the Regent from the Quen, that he mycht execut them; quhilk sche permitted willingly, for sche wald haue bene quyt of the Lord Hum and Grange, as of tua trew Scottis men wha wer vnwonnable till England to do any thing against ther prince or con tre and the secretery Liddingtoun, wer not that he died in Leith before that the rest wer delyuerit to the skamles; some supponyng he tok a drink, and died as the auld Romanes wer wont to do.

As for the Lord Hum,—Alexander of Manderstoun, Codownknowes, the gudman of North Barwik with the rest of the Humes, spak sa proud langage and boifted, that the Regent stod aw of them and spaired the Lord Humes lyf, wha died schortly efter, being wardit in the castell of Edenbrough. Mester Killigrew desyredn a mair for his reward bot the sassetie of my brother Sir Robertis lyf, he was sa far oblist of auld to him and me. The composition wes kepit to all the rest of the mean gentilmen. The pryour of Kowdingame and lard of Drylaw wer efterwart set to libertie. Sindre of the captens of Barwik past vp to the castell, be the bresche wher the foir wall wes dung down be the canons, that they mycht say that they had won the maiden castell; bot this wes efter that the house was delyuered ouer to the Regentis brother, wha wald not haue sufferit them to enter ther with any number.

On this maner, baith England and the Regent wer reuengit vpon that worthy champion, whom they had somtymes in gret estymation; wha had done sic notable seruice in France, being capten of ane hundredreth leicht horfmen, that he wes extollit be the Duc of Vendome,

Prince of Conde and Duc of Aumall, gouuernours and collomners [coronnells ?] then in Picardie, that I hard the King Hendre 2. point vnto him and said, "Yonder is ane of the maist vailyeant men of our tym." Also the K. vsed him sa familiarly, as to chuse him commonly vpon his fyd; and because he schot faire with a gret schaft at the buttis, the K. wald haue him to schut tua arrowes, ane for his pleafour; and the Gret Conftable of France wald not speak with him on couerit; and that K. gaif him ane honnorable pension, wherof he neuer socht payment; and England had proif of his qualites, baith againft them vpon the borders, wher he did them dyuers ruffles, and be fingular combat vincuft the L. Yuers brother, betuen the tua armyes of England and Scotland; and efterwart had sa manfully debaited the libertie of his contre againft the Frenschemen, when they pretendit to erect the reaulm in ane province; and wha laitly had refused the demandis of Mester Randolphe and Mester Killigrew, as is before mentionit, and had reprochit baith the saidis ambaffadouris of false and difceatfull deling; and laft of all, had refused to put the castell in the handis of Englifmen. Therefore because he wes trew and eafald to his prince and contre, it coift him his lyf; for they baith boifted planly to bring down that proud gyantis pryde, wha presumed to be a nother Wallace, as they allegit. Albeit contrary wayes, he wes humble, gentill and meak lyk a lamb in the houle, bot lyk a lyon in the feildis; a lusty, ftark and weill proportionit perfonnage, hardy and of a magnanym curage; fecret and prudent in all his enterpryses, sa that never ane that he maid or deuysed misluckit

**P. 138.** wher he was present him self; and wher he was victorious, he was very mercifull, and naturally liberall, and ennemy till gredines and ambition, and frend till all men in aduerfitie, and fell oft in trouble to debait

innocent men fra sic as wald opprefs them. Sa that thir his worthy qualites, wer also partly causes and instrumentis of his wrak; for they promoued him sa in the oppinions of many, that some loued him for his religion, vprychtnes, manlines; vthers again dependit vpon him for his gud fortoun, and apperant promotion, wherby dyuers of them hoped to be aduancit and rewardit, supponing that honours and offices could not fail till fall to him; quhilkis all he wanted in his awen default, for he fled fra auarice, and abhorrit ambition, and refused findre gret offices, euen the office of Regent, and benefices and gret pensions. Sa, wanting place and substance till reward, he was incontinent abandonit be his gredy and ambitious dependers, sa schone as they saw him at a strait, and drew them to sic vthers as they persauit to schut at mair profitable markis. Then, he was asmekle enuyed be them that wer of a vill and vnworthy nature, as he was belouit of all honest men. Then, as many haue maid tragicall endis for ther ouer gret gredines and ambition, as did the Erle of Mortoun schortly efter, this gud gentillman periffit for being ouer litle ambitious and gredy. Bot sa schone as the Kingis Maiestie cam till perfyt aige, and had knowlege how the estait of the gouernement and contre was handled during his minorite, he caused restore the aires of the said lard of Grange, whom he said was wracked against the appontement with the Regent and the marchell of Barwick; and also ordonit his beanes to be tane vp, and to be buried honnorablely in the ancient buriall place of his predeceffours in Kingorn.

Efter this, the marchall of Barwick tok sic hauy displeasour, because of his promyse, and that the appontement quhilk he had maid with the castell of Edenbrough was not kepit, that he wald tary na langer in his

office at Barwik, feing that he had tint his credit and reputation. For he wes a plain man of warre, and loved sa Grange with his hart, that he spaired to cast down the houses of Ceatoun and Nidre at his request, the tym that he cam in to cast down the house of Hammiltoun; lykwais all the captens of Barwik lamented the los of sic a worthy capten.

The Regent tryumphed for a whyll, becaufe of the gret affilance that England had maid to him, quhilk they had not done to any of the formair Regentis, bot rather sterit vp parties and factions against them, to hald the contre in discord. The causes that moued them sa till affit him wer, that they beleued the auld jeloufies betuen the Stuartis and Douglassis fuld tak ane end be him; the yong King being in his handis to be disponit vpon at his pleasour; the Quen his mother being alredy captywe in ther handis; quhilk tua only mycht jun England and Scotland in a monarchie. Therefore abone all vthers, the gyders of the court of England for the tym, wisit them tua to be out of the way, asweill for the gret offences done be them to baith King and Quen, as for the desyre they had in destroying that race and lyn, to place some of ther frendis to succead vnto the crown of England. Sa thinking that the Regentis mark in Scotland and thers in England wer conformable, they set him vp, they fortified him, and establissit his regiment.

**P. 139.** Bot God of his gudnes sufferit not ther pretences to tak effect; for the Regent wanting aires of his awen body, and having na compeditours to stay him fra doing any thing that he pleasit, when he thocht the tym meit, he drew matters at lenth; and in the mean tym set his haill study how till gather geir, and how till souk out substance baith fra England and Scotland; mouyng therby England to repent ouer lait

for the want of the lard of Grange, and for that they had not kept him in England, to haue bene ane auband ouer the Regent head, as he kept the King to be ane auband to them. And as he was crafty, he was fearfull and flaw of nature ; and he thocht the Erle of Angus his brother sone yet ouer yong, and not capable to comprehend his hid intention, and therfor was lang in resolving. Seruyng his turn in the mean tym with England, as they did with all the warld ; when they wer lyk to haue any trouble amang them selues, or with ther nybours, then he compellit them to fend him filuer ; quhilk they did fair against ther hart, with a hid despyt and secret hattrent at his flawnes on the ane part, and gredynes on the other.

This Regent held the contre vnder gret obedience in ane establisht estait, better than was many yeares of before nor yet sen syn ; for ther was not another Erle of Mortoun to steir vp the subiectis in factions, as he vsed to do against the rest of the Regentis. Quhilk maid him sa proud and disdanfull, that he dispysed the rest of the nobilite, and vsed na mans counsaill bot his awen, and becam ingrat to all his auld freindis and saruandis ; and vnder pretext of iustice, vsed to commit dyuers wrangis and extorcions ; against the lard of Fentre, for a theif that had eschaiped out of his handis many yeares of before ; against the lard of Seefeild, for a piece land ; and against Mester James Thorne-toun, for his benefice. Sa as that he had tint the fauour of England, sa did he the hartis of all Scotland, bot only of George Afflek and Sanders Jardan. As for the lard of Carmychell, he lamented to me greuously of his ingratitude towardis him, and was myndit to leaw him, vntill I gaue him a counsaill, to help him self be the hurtfull experience of the lard of Grange, and my brother Walter Meluille, wha was an

gentilman of the Erle of Murrays chamber. Quhilk twa tint him fa  
schone as he becam Regent, and lykwais my self; for we had bene lang  
famylier with him, and had affistid him in all his troubles; bot when  
he was Regent, wald reprove, admonish and tell him his faltis, wherby  
we tint his fauour. And vthers that had ay bene in his contrair before,  
cam in and flatterit him in all his proceadingis, and bekkit wery laich  
to him, callen him "your grace" at ilk word. "Thir men," I said,  
"wan him, and we tint him; and apperantly," said I to Carmichell,  
"ye folow the lyk fulische behauour as we did; therefore ye mon tak  
vp another kynd of doing, now sen your frend is becom Regent. Yma-  
gen that ye wes never acquainted with him of before, bot entrit to serue  
a new maister. Cast never vp your auld and lang seruice; bek laich,  
"grace" him at euery word, find na falt with his procedingis, bot serue  
all his affections with gret deligence and continowell onwating, and ye  
salbe sure of a reward. Vther wayes all the formair tym spendit in  
his seruice salbe tint, and he sall hat yow and tak a dispyt at yow;  
quhilk may bring on efterwart a greter wreck." Carmychell gaif me  
gret thankis, and his hand that he fuld folow this counsaill; quhilk he  
did restrictly, and becam a gret ear courteour then euer he was, and was  
baith employed and rewardit, and had credit to do pleasour to his frendis;  
bot I fand him not thankfull efterwart to me for my counsaill.

40. Now the yong King was brocht vp in Stirling, be Allexander Askin  
and my Lady Mar; and had for principall preceptouris, Mester George  
of Buchwhennen and Mester Peter Yong, the abbotis of Cambuskyn-  
neth and Drybrough, branches of the house of Askin, and the lard of  
Dromwhaffell his Maiesteis maister houshald. Allexander Askin wes  
a nobleman of a trew, gentill nature, weill loued and lyked of euery

man for his gud qualites and gret discretion, in na wayes factious nor enuyous, a louer of all honest men, and defyred euer to haue sic as wer of gud conuerfation to be about the prince, rather then his awen nerer frendis gif he thocht them not fa meit.

The Lard of Dromwhassell, again, was ambitious and gredy, and had greteft cair how till aduance him self and his frendis. The tua abbotis wer wyfe and modest; my Lady Mar was wyfe and schairp, and held the King in gret aw; and sa did Mester George Buchwhennen. Mester Peter Yong was gentiller, and was laith till offend the King at any tym, and vsed him self wairly, as a man that had mynd of his awen weill, be keping of his Maiesteis fauour. Bot Mester George was a stoik philosopher, and loked not far before the hand; a man of notable qualites for his learnyng and knowlege in Latin poefie, mekle maid accompt of in other contrees, plaissant in company, reherfing at all occasions moralites schort and fecfull, wherof he had aboundance, and invented wher he wanted. He was also of gud religion for a poet, bot he was easely abused, and sa facill that he wes led with any company that he hanted for the tym, quhilk maid him factious in his auld dayes; for he spak and wret as they that wer about him for the tym infourmed him. For he was becom sleperie and cairles, and folowed in many thingis the vulgair oppinion; for he was naturally populaire, and extrem vengeable against any man that had offendit him, quhilk was his greteft falt. For he wret dispytfull inuectywes against the Erle of Monteith, for some particulaires that wes betwen him and the lard of Buchwhennen; and becam the Erle of Mortons gret ennemy, for ane hackeney of his that chancit to be tane fra his faruand during the ciuill troubles, and was bocht be the Regent; wha had na will to part



with the said horſe, he was ſa ſur of fut and ſa eaſy, that albiet Meſter George had oft tymes requyred him again, he culd not get him, and wher he had bene the Regentis gret frend of before, he becam his deadly ennemy, and ſpak euell of him fra that tym fourth in all places and at all occaſions. Dromwhaffell alſo, becauſe the Regent kepit all caſualtes to him ſelf, and wald let nathing fall till vthers that wer about the K., becam alſo his ennemy, and ſa did they all that wer about his Maieſte.

The Regent again, reuling all at his pleaſour, maid na accompt of any of them that wer about the King, vntill a diſcret gentilman callit Meſter Nycholl Elphinfoun aduertift him, how that he was invyed of many and hatted of euery man, ſpecially be them that wer in Stirling with the King; aduyſing him, (albeit ouer lait) to beſtow part of his gold vnto ſamany of them as he beleued wer wonnable. Wha, till ane that was in mean rank, he gaif twenty pieces of gold, at xx lb. the piece. What he gaif till vthers I can not tell; bot ſic as had ſpoken ill of him before, durſt not alter ther langage, becauſe of the Kingis wit and gud memorie, wha culd chek vp any that he perſauit had firſt ſpoken euell, and then began to ſpeak gud again; as his Maieſte had done till ane of the company, alleging that he had chengit his coit, as I was informed

2. 141. for the tym. Sa that the Regent was ouer lang in dealing of part of his gold to them that wer about his Maieſte; wha increffing in yeares and knowlege, findre gentilmen began to fut ſeruiſe and wer onwaters. Amang others, James Stuart ſone to the lord Ogiltre, a yong man of a buſy brain, a quyct tanter, with mirry conceatis, and had ane aſpyring ſpirit, and with tym wan gret fauour and credit with his Maieſte, and not ſa weill lyked be them of the caſtell of Stirling. Yet he was

the mair ouer fean, becaufe he gaue continuell euell information to his Maiefte of the Erle of Mortoun ; and fa did alfo my L. Robert Erle of Orkeney, wha had bene wardit and hardly handled be the Regent, for fome fklent dealing with Denmark as was allegit.

The Regent being on this maner brocht in diffauour with his Maiefte, euen when he was vpon the heicht of the wheill, the Erles of Argyll and Atholl wer fecretly practyfed, and drawen in to Stirling be Dromwhaffell, with the confent of Alexander Afskin mefter of Mar and Mefter George Buchwhennen ; be whais aduyfe and counsaill his Maiefte was eafely mouit to depoife the Regent out of his office. Wha yeldit and granted eafelyer therto then any man wald haue beleued, and againft the oppinion of dyuers of his frendis ; and reterit him felf to the houle of Lochleuen within the loch, for the furete of his perfonne, vntill he mycht vnderftand what wes lyk to be folowed fourth thervpon, and what mycht be the nyxt beft for him to do.

The Kingis Maiefte hauyng atteanit vnto the age [of twelve] yeares, ordonit a counsaill to fit in Edenbrough, for the affaires of the realm ; the Erle of Atholl to be chanceler, becaufe the Lord Glames wes a litle of before flain in Stirling, be the Erle of Crafford as wes fufpected ; wha denyed the deid, and purgit him felf fa far as he culd. The Erle of Argyll, with the mefter of Mar, taried in Stirling with the Kingis Maiefte.

During the tym that this new counsaill fat in Edenbrough, the Erle of Mortoun, wha wes quyet in Lochleuen making the allees of the garding euen, his mynd was occupied in the mean tym vpon cruiked paithes, with a complot how to be brocht in again to be maifter of the court. Quhilk was accomplifit vpon a nycht at midnycht, when he

cam to the gettis of the castell of Stirling. They wer oppenit vnto him be the tua abbotis, and a faction that they had drawen in ther with them, albeit, the Maister of Mar and the Erle of Argyll maid the resistance they culd, wher the Mesters eldest sone died in the thrang. Yet the party enterprysers preuailit, wha brocht in again the Erle of Mortoun, and pat out the Erle of Argyll, the Maister of Mar, Drom-whassell, and sic vthers as they mislyked, and sa maid a new chenge in court; wher the Erle of Mortoun handled the matter sa discretly and moderatly as he culd, that the alteration fuld not seam to be our schairp or violent. Bot the new chosen consaill skatterit incontinent; some of them retiring hame, and some junit with the Erle of Morton, trowing never to se a tourn again.

About this tym, cam heir out of France my Lord of Obeny, wha was efterwart maid Duc of Lenox; wha was brother sone to the Erle of Lenox, and obteanit efterwart gret credit and fauour. And James Stuart of Ogiltre, of whom I haue maid mention, affistid him with proces of tym, to perswad the Kingis Maieste to desyre to ryd out of Stirling, and mak a progress amang the rest of his subiectis; quhilk the Erle of Mortoun wald not resist, supponyng that it lay in his power to fram the court at his plesour; be his gret substance, to won sa many as he thocht necessary; and be the multitude of his frendis, to bear out his busynes, howeuer the court was rewled, efter that he  
 42. had obteanit ane discharge and allowance of his handling during the tym that he was Regent, abyding alwayes starkest about the King. Bot my L. Obeny and James Stuart wer starkest in fauour; wha be ther continowell rounding in his Maiesteis ear against the Erle of Mortoun, engendreth at lenth a mair mislyking in the King of him, then

he had before ; James Stuart being the sterer vp of the other. And efterwart, when he thocht the tyme convenient, he tuk occasioun till accuse the said erle, before the confaill, of the lait King his mourther ; wherupon the Erle of Mortoun was constitut prisoner, and send first to the castell of Edenbrough, and efterwart to the castell of Dombartan. Quhilk was thocht strange, in respect of his many freindis that wer in court for the tyme, wha wer then found to be bot frendis of his fortun ; for he was louit be nane, and envyed and hatted be many, sa that they all loked throw ther fingers to se his fall.

England wer also angry at him for the tyme, because of his flawnes till outred sic turnis as they hopped for at his hand, having put the King and contre in his power. Yet they maid some contenance to help him, quhilk was rather the cause to haift his wrak ; for they send down to the borders some companyes, to the number of xvij<sup>e</sup>, boisting to send in a greter number, and to declair open warres incaice that the Erle of Mortoun wer not set at liberte, and the Lord Obeny put fourth of Scotland. Mester Randolphe wes send in with this ambasad.

His Maieste again, having thir tua yong men about him, wha knew of na parelis, raised a taxation to pay wageours, and caused mak a proclamation euery man to be in a redines ; quhilk moued the Englis to reteir, and leaue aff fra any farther procuring or making of assistance ; encuraging therby sa many as wer deadly ennemys to the Erle of Morton, to ryd to Dombartan with the forces of a thousand wagit hacbuters, by ther awen frendis, and brocht the Erle of Morton bak again to Edenbrough, to thoill asyfe and to be justified. Then some of his frendis conuenit, bot wer not stark enough to raue him out of ther handis ; quhilk they mycht haue done, wer not the forces of hacbuters

that wer newly tane vp, for the countenance and boift that England had maid.

Being brocht till Edenbrough, he fand few frendis to do for him. His gould and filuer was tranfported lang of before, be his fone naturrell James Douglas, and ane of his feruandis callit Jhon Makmoran. It was firft caried in barrelis, and efterwart hid in fome fecret partis; and part therof was geuen in keping to fome that wer fupponit to be frendis, wha maid ill compt of it again; fa that the maift part therof leichted in frembd handis, and him felf was fa deftitud of filuer, when he paft throw the cafsey to the towbuith to thoill ane afyfe, that he wes compellit to borow xx l. to diftribut to the pure that askit for Gods faik. The afyfe condemnit him to the death, as for being airt and part of the Kingis mourthour, and as being of confaill with the Erle Bodowell, wha brocht him out of baniffement when he wes abfent for the flaughter of feigneur Dauy. He granted that he was maid preuy therto, bot was not a deuyfer therof. And as concernyng the yong King, he purpofed to put him in England for his weall, and that he mycht the rather obtean his rycht to the crown of England, being within the contre and brocht vp amang them. He died refolutly, and had endit mair parfytly, gif he had declaired and confeffit his worldly practyfes, and fetches to enterteney the ciuill troubles, partly at the deuotion of England, and partly for his awen particulier proffit, during the gouernement of the firft thre Regentis; quhilk was caufe of gret bludfchidding, that cryes vp commounly vnto the heauen.

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- P. 143. During the Kingis yong yeares, the parcialites wer fa gret, and the haill contrey fa parturbit be the twa parties, that allegit them selues to feicht and flyt and stryue for the King and the Quen, hir Maieste being captywe in England, and the King yet very yong, that many persaued them to be bot factious, fasschious, ambitious, gredy, vengeable, warldly, wretchit creatours ; and baith parties craftyly sterit vp, and halden tu be a only faction in England, wha had that Quenis ear ; intending the wrak afweill of our yong K. as of our Quen, to set vp some of ther frendis to bruk the crown of England ; quhilk moued [*dyuers vthers to cry out against the folly of our nation and the malice of our nybours ; thir few verses wer set out amang many vthers be ane that had na will his name suld be knawen.*] many to cry out against our fulisfche contentions, some in proiße and some in meter, as this that follows for ane.

Last when our lordis lay parkit in ane camp,  
 My tent wes stent besyd them in the park,  
 Phebus be day, Lucyne the nichtis lamp,  
 The starris haill gaue leicht when it wes dark ;  
 All creatures avating on ther wark,  
 Saif only man, declynand in his kynd ;  
 I saw and sixed, and said thus in my mynd.

All maner thing for mannis vse is maid,  
Man till serue God, his nybour for to lowe ;  
All keipis dew course, bot man his lyf dois leid  
In woffull wrang, his vice dois him sa moue,  
Wha till Goddis gloir, and not his awen behoue,  
God did him schaip vnto his similitude.  
Wher is Godis lyknes, what dois man that is gude?

They hald na reull, they schew na sound exemple,  
Na societe they set them till sustean ;  
Ther bailfull bodys, quhilk suld be Godis temple,  
Ar full of pryd, of hattrent, and vnclean.  
They say na suith, I maruell what they mean ;  
All vther thingis persistis in ther degrees,  
The earth geues corn, we get fruit af the trees,

The feildis ther floirs, of birdis thair plaisant sang,  
The fowlis gifis fuid, the sea gifis fiche anough,  
On hors we ryd our journes oft and lang,  
The ox is ydand euer in the plouche,  
Of scheip our claith, our fyre fourth of the heuch.  
All thy warkis, Lord, delytis to geue the gloir,  
Bot only man declynes ay more and moir.

In this, as my nychtis watche cam me about,  
I spaiced a part fra all the rest allain ;  
That wilsome nycht, when gret cauld wes thairout,  
Ane voice I hard making ane drery mean.  
Then I drew neir, and sat down on ane stain ;  
My body grewed, my hair start vp for fear ;  
The voice spak lowd, and I gaue deligent ear.

" Till God I mon deploir my grevous smairt ;  
 Soir I am hurt, and of help hes gret neid ;  
 My wound is inwart, my harme is in my hart,  
 Hard to be heild ; my bowelis all dois bleid ;  
 Wha can me cure, wha may me mend or feid ?  
 Myn awen, whom I haue nurist from ther youth,  
 Has done me till this strang thing and vnkouth."

As I this hard, I had na further fear ;  
 Kair was schone chengit intill compassion,  
 Thinking schroid sonnes, or souldarts, for hir geir,  
 Had sa opprest some honest mattroun,  
 Eyther of Leith or of Edenbrough town.  
 Then pertly said I, " Schew me I prey yow, dame,  
 Wha has this done, and eik what is your name ?"

Sadly said sche, " Scotland, your kyndly mother ;  
 On all degrees gret cause haue I to plean ;  
 Ye hait, ye hurt, and hereis ilk ane other,  
 And paice in me ye will not let remain.  
 Ye loith religion, justice ye haue slain ;  
 Will is your gyd, to raisoun ye gif na plaice ;  
 I mourn, I weip, I cry alalice, alalice."

" I call to God, wha man mak me redress ;  
 Ye can do herme, bot nane of you can hail ;  
 Me to releawe, and reward your madnes,  
 Restoir me myn, punis you for your faill,  
 Onles ye repent and your sins bevaill,  
 Rendring to your prince obediens and plaice  
 To reull me as they aucht, in justice and paice.



“ All princely powers ar plantit in be God,  
 To mentean richt, till punis wrang and vice ;  
 Whether they represent Godis loue or his rod,  
 Subiectis suld displaice nane fra ther office ;  
 As God dois command, do them dew seruice ;  
 Till Ceasar Ceasars, till God only belangis  
 To tak accompt of princes for ther wrangis.

P. 144. “ God reules be mercy more then be his mycht ;  
 The warldis rasche reull is bot vexation ;  
 Guid princes reull is just, gentle and liecht ;  
 Lordis reules with gret oppression ;  
 Ministers mon reull without discretion ;  
 Barrons wan reull makis lordis on them till ryd,  
 Bot burges bene reull may learn the leaue to gyd.

“ God not allowes the lewd lyf of ill princes ;  
 The Lord dislykis the warldly foul infection ;  
 He abhores thir lordis proud pretences,  
 Nor pastours that juns with frendis for faction,  
 Not content with conselis corruption ;  
 And als that barrons ar becom sic beastis ;  
 All vnricht reull God vtterly detestis.

“ God knawes abuse to be in all estaitis,  
 He knawes what prelatis commit symonye,  
 He knawes wha causes steir vp thir debaitis,  
 In dromely watters to fische commoditie ;  
 Of such professours the hypocresie  
 He seis, of Juges the deffyled handis,  
 And how some lawers conkis cleantis landis.

" Think ye that honnour consistis in vain weidis,  
 Or noblenes in outward braggis and bruitis ?  
 Gentilnes is kythed be noble deidis,  
 As kyndly trees ar knawen be ther fruitis ;  
 Vertu wirkis alway, and executis  
 Hir worthy warkis, vphalding ay the gud  
 Against the warldis vyll ingratitud.

" The warld I call ane monstrous sort of men,  
 Led with passions and cled with yngnorance ;  
 They loue, they hait, they faour, they misken,  
 Folowing ay false fortouns inconstance ;  
 Wraking the gud, the wicked they aduance,  
 A hydeous heap compoisd of hyders headis ;  
 Ye hait him maist that offers meit remeadis.

" Honour is tint, athoritie is reft,  
 The Quene retenit in captiuitie ;  
 Promys is broken, obedience is left,  
 Rebellion dryues away dewtie ;  
 Loue is ouerlaid with hypocresie,  
 Treuth is fled, and I tyn patience,"  
 (The wyf said weping) " to se sic variance.

" Of subiectis against ther superiours,  
 Of saruandis that dois ther maisters betray ;  
 Then gret fische feidis on ther inferiours,  
 The mother and sone dayly into pley,  
 The husband his wyf, the wyf her man wald sley ;  
 The dochter in law haldis her gud mother in sturt ;  
 All ar inclynit to do till vther hurt.

“ O serpentis seed, why lay ye not a syd  
Your poison, when ye get posterite ?  
That ther complexion mycht be clean and void  
Of your corruption and perversitie ;  
As dois some serpentis with fisches in the see ;  
At ther metingis nane will ther maik defyll ;  
Bot ye pass not how many ye begyll.

“ I mean the serpent amorous of a fische  
Callit Murena, or euer he com neir,  
First spoutis fourth his venome, syn si flis hisch ;  
At whais whisling, Murena with mery cheir  
To meit hir maik with speid sche dois compeir ;  
Bot ye ar lyker to vipers generation,  
Vndoing other without compassion.

“ When vipers gendres togither in ther kynd,  
The maill in femelis mouth putis in his head ;  
Then sche again, maist crewell and vnkynd,  
Bytis aff the same, wherthrow he getis his dead ;  
Syn an slap throw the mothers syd is maid  
Be her awen cankred kitlins sche is keild,  
And they euen sa ar used in ther eild.

“ The gretest wrak that may com in ane land,  
Is in it self to haue diuision ;  
Ane end a rod, the other is an wand,  
To plaig them selfis with my perdition.  
The just reward of ther defection,  
They drink the dregis of Godis wrath and yre ;  
Com hunger and pest, ye haue elis sword and fyre.”

As I beheld methocht ane sorowful sicht  
To see the wyf mak dull sa dolorous,  
To me allane schawing baith wrang and richt,  
That I inquyred of this stait parellous,  
The cause that makis them to be quarellous,  
What succes mycht ensew vpon ther dedis ;  
Sche bad me wret what thow heirafter redis.

Yet I asked at hir to knaw be name,  
Whom sche thocht cheifest cause of hir distress ;  
Sche said, " My sone, I wer worthy of blame  
Gif I suld not some of ther names express,  
Thoch dyuers vthers heirin dois tranagress ;  
Thir few mens factis maist fercely wholmes the whell  
On me, them selfis, and on ther commoun weill."

. . . . .

P. 145. Efter that the Erle of Mortoun, the laft of the four Regentis, was depofed, the Kingis Maieftie being yet yong, of                    yeares, tok the gouernement in his awen handis. My Lord of Obeny, being maid Lord of Dakeith and efterwart Duc of Lenox, was cheiffeft about his Maieftie; and James Stuart of Ogiltre, wha efterwart tok vnto him felf firft the ftyll, and fyn the erldome of Arran to him felf; thinking that he had deferued weall for the accufing and wraking of the Erle of Mortoun; and alfo tok vnto him the Erle of Marche wyf, baith without any gret richt or raifoun. The Duc was of nature vpricht, juft and gentill; laking the experience of the eftait of the contre; at the firft maift gydit be James Stuart and his wyf; wha baith began fecretly to enuy him, and fe how they mycht caft him, that they mycht haue the gyding ther allane. And for that effect they gaue him wrang aduyfes, and finifter informations againft findre of his beft frendis, moving him to fodain wraith, without trew tryall, to ftart at them. Quhilk being perfauit be fome that lovit him for the Kingis caufe, it was oft tymes remedied, and vther tymes preuenit; bot it was fa oft renewed again, that at lenth it tok the defyred effect; not without the practyfes alfo of England, wha be ther ambaffadour fterit vp findre againft him, alleging him to be a papift, altogether at the Duc of Guife deuotion, and therfor a dangerous man to be about his Maieftie. Bot his cheiffeft falt was, that he being trew to the King, he was thocht vnwonnable to ther behoue, as he wes indede. Mefter Dauid Magill, and Mefter Hendre Keir wer his cheif confellours; baith wyfe enough

for ther awen proffit, bot cairles of his standing, therefore vnmeit to reull him wha wes in gretest fauour with his Maieste. He first was alterit vpon his loving frend the Mester of Mar, capten of the castell of Edenbrough, lykwayes vpon Sir Willyem Stuart, capten of Dombartan, vpon Allexander Clark, prouest of Edenbrough, and vpon the Erle of Gowry treforere, at the instigation and wrang information of the Erle of Arran and his wyf.

Then the rest of the nobilite wer miscontent, to se thir twa yong lordis cheif doers in court, supponing them baith to schut at noble-mens lyues, for ther landis; and albeit some of them mislyked the Erle of Mortons proceadingis, they thocht the wey taking of his lyff ane hard preparatywe. Therefore a number of them consulted together, before they had sufficient proif of the Duc of Lenox gud qualites, to displace baith him and the Erle of Arran; and at least to send them baith hame, the ane to France, and the other farther aff, incaice he eschapit with his lyf; in the mean tyme, to thring them selues in about the yong King, and keip him, vnder pretext of a necessary reformation; and his Maieste being environit with ther forces, to present vnto him ane humble supplication, sa schone as he fuld com to Domfermeling, wher he had apointed to com at his retournyng out of Atholl, wher he wes for the tyme at the hunting.

P. 146. At this hyland hunting his Maieste was very quyet, only accompanied with his domistykis. The Duc of Lenox taried for the tyme in Dakeith, the new Erle of Arran at Kynneill. Many of the consaill wer appointed to hald iustice aires in dyuers schyres of the contre. I wes appointed, with my L. of Newbottill, Mester Dauid Magill and

Meister Jhon Schairp, to hald the justice aires of West Lowdian in Edenbrough; wher ther cam to my bedfyd tymely in a morning a gentilman, alleging that I had done him plesour sometymes, quhilk he culd never recompense till that tym, that he suld mak me the instrument to saif the Kingis Maieste my maister, out of ther handis that wer vpon ane enterpryse to tak him and kepe him. I said, I culd not beleue that; bot fearit that the Duc of Lenox, wha wes to pass till Glasco to hald justice aires, suld be in danger for the hattrent born against him, specially for menteanyng of the twa bischoppis of S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes and Glasco. He said again, "They will lay handis vpon the Kingis Maieste, and then the Duc and the Erle of Arran dar na mair be seane; for ther insolency and misbehauour is cause of the present disorder, and enterpryse to present ane supplication against them vnto his Maieste." And efter that he had tald me the names of the noble men, he willit me not to declair his name, bot the matter, to his Maieste, and that the turn wald be done within ten dayes. Now as I start vp to put on my clais, he slippit fourth with a schort fairweill.

Because the Duc wes at Dakeith, I raid ther and schew him the hail matter; aduysing him to ryd him self vnto his Maieste with this aduertissement, and for his awin securete. Bot he thocht metest to direct ane gentilman with all possible deligence vnto his Maieste, willing me also to wret vnto the Erle of Gowrye; for the gentilman named him not with the rest, other of forgetfulnes, or elis because he wes bot laitly won to that purpos be the Lard of Dromwhassell; wha assured him that the Duc of Lenox wes determinit to sleie him at the first meating, perswading the said erle to jun with the rest of the noblemen, that wer determinit to reform the estait. Vnto the quhilk invented aduertis-

ment ouer fercely he gaue credit, and fa wes junit with the rest of the noblemen; that wer myndit to present this supplication folowing vnto his Maieste, at his commyng to Domfermeling.

“ It may seam strange vnto your hynes, that we your maist humble and faithfull subiectis are heir convenit, by your expectation; bot efter your grace has hard the vrgent occasion that hes preffit vs heirunto, your Maieste will not meruell of this our honest, lafull, and neccessaire enterpryse.

“ Sir, for the dewtifull reuerence that we aw vnto your hyenes, and for that we abhor to attempt any thing that may seam displefant to your excellency, we haue sufferit now about the spaice of tua yeares, sic false accusations, calumnies, oppressions and persecutions, be moyen of the Duc of Lenox, and him wha is callit Erle of Arran, that the lyk of ther infolency and enormities was never heirtofore borne with in  
P. 147. Scotland. Quhilk wrangis, albeit they wer maist intollerable, yet wher they only tuechit ws in particulaire, we comported them patiently; euer attending when it fuld please your Maieste put remedy heirvnto.

“ Bot seing the perfonas fairsaidis hes enterit planly to trouble the haill body of this commownweill, asweill the minifters of the bliffit euangill, as the trew professours therof; bot in speciall that nomber of noblemen, barrons, burgeffes and commonaltie, that did maist worthyly in your hyenes seruice induring your youth; quhome principally and only they molest, and against whom they use maist extremitie and rygour of laues and prattickis, and oft tymes maist finifterly perverting the samyn for the greter vendication. Sa that ane part of theise your best subiectis ar exylit; ane vther part tormented and put to



questions, and with parcialite execut ; and gif any eschaip ther barbarous fury, git can haue na acces to your Maieste, bot ar fallly calumniat, invaset, and debarrit from your grace prefence, and halden out of your fauour.

“ Papistis and maist notable mourtherers daily callit hame, restored to ther formair honours and heritages, and oft tymes hyechly rewardit with the offices, rowmes and possessions of your maist faithfull saruandis. “ Fynally, your estait royall is not gournit be the consaill of your grace nobilite, as your maist worthy progenitouris vsed to do ; bot at the plesour of the foirfaidis personnes, wha enterpryses nathing bot as they receaue directions from the bischoppis of Glasco and Ross, your denuncit rebelles, having with them adjunit in ther ordinary consellis the Paipis nuncio, with the ambassadour of Spaine, and sic vther of the catholik papistis of France, as they euer labour to subuert the trew religion, and to spoilge your grace of the crown. With theise forfealt-ed personnes, and with your mother, by the aduyse of your estaitis, they trauellit to cause yow negociat and traffic ; persuading your hyenes to be reconciliat with hir, and to associat hir with yow conjunctly in your autoritie royall ; meanyng nathing vther therby bot to convict vs of vsurpation and trefoun.

“ And sua having these your best subiectis out of the way, wha with the deffence of your minorite maintenit the part of the trew religion, as tua actions vnited and vnseperable, what elis culd haue ensfewed and folowed bot the wrak and distruction of baith.

“ For conclusion of ther prattickis, your hail natywe contre, for the quhilk, Sir, ye mon geue ane accompt to the eternell God, lyk as we

mon be answerable to your excellency, is sa perturbit, alterit and put out of fram, that the trew religion, the commoun weall, your estait and persone, is in na les danger, then when ye wer delyuerit out of the handis of the crewell mourderers of your father. What they ar, we will not insift at this present.

“ Sir, behalding these gret dangers to be eminent and at hand, without speidy help, and seing your maist noble persone in sic hazard, the preferuation wherof is mair precious vnto us then our awen lyues; finding also na apperance that your Maieste wes foirwairnit heiroy, bot lyk to perisch before ye culd perfaue the parell; we thocht that we culd not be answerable to our eternell God, nether faithfull subiectis to your hyenes, gif efter our abilite we preuenit not this present distrefs, and preferuit your Maieste from the samyn.

“ For this effect, with dewtifull humilite and obedience, we your Maiesteis trew subiectis ar heir convenit, desyrand your Maieste, in the name of God, and for the loue ye bear to his trew religion, to your contre and commoun weill, and as ye wald the tranquilite of your awen estait, to reteir your self to some part of the contre wher your Maiesteis persone may be maist surely preferuit, and your nobilite, wha ar vnder parell of landis, lyf and heritages; and wher your Maieste fall se the disloyalties, falsctis and trefons of the persones foirfaisdis with ther complices, euidently prouen and declaired in ther faces, to the glory of God, aduancement of his trew religion, your Maiesteis preferuation, honour and delyuerance of your perturbit commoun weall and contre, and to ther perpetuell ygnominie and schame.”

It is certane that the Duc of Lenox wes led be euell confellours and wrang informations, wherby he wes moued to medle in sic hurtfull and dangerous courfes, that the rest of the nobilite tok fufpition, and wer in fear of ther eftait be ane hard alteration. As for the Erle of Arran, they detefted his proceadingis, and esteamed him the worft and maift insolent instrument that culd be found out, to wrak King, kirk and contre. Bot the Duc had bene tollerable, gif he had happenit vpon as honeft confellouris, as he wes weill inclynit him felf. He louit baith the King and commown weall; bot he wantit experience, and wes not verfit in the affaires of eftait, nor brocht vp in our religion, quhilk aperantly he wes lyk till embrace be tym. The Erle of Arran, again, wes a fcorner of religion, prefomptuous, ambitious, nedy and cairles of the commown weall, and a difpyfer of the nobilite and of all honeft men; fa that euery man loked for a fodane chenge, quhilk fuld haue bene maid in Domfermeling, in prefenting this abone fpecified fupplication. What moued the lordis to furpryfe his Maiefte within the houfe of Huntintour,—fome allegit it was to imbarke the Erle of Gowry mair deiply in ther band; vthers fayer that the lordis, fearing ther enterpryfe to be difcouert, maid the greater haift, and ftayed his Maiefte in that place; quhilk wes efterwart callit the Raid of Ruthven.

Efter that the Duc of Lenox wes aduertift of this enterpryfe, he fend for the Erle of Arran, wha wes peiceably paffing his tym in Kinneill; and tok in hand to ryd and faif the K., and boifted that he fuld chaife all the lordis in moufe hollis. Bot he wes chaffit, and faiffed him felf within the houfe of Ruthven, wher they had fchortly maid ane end of him, wer not the Erle of Gowry, whais defteny wes to keip him alyue to be his wrak efterwart. Then the Duc of Lenox being aduertift that

his Maieſte wes in handis, reterit him ſelf to Dombarton. His Maieſte wes convoyed to Stirling, and retenit ther.

The King of France and the Quen of England, being infourmed that the King wes tane and kepit, ſend baith ther ambaffadours in this contré, to confort his Maieſte, to ſe the maner, and to offer him ther help incaice he wald requyre the ſame, and declaire that he wes tane and keped againſt his will. Bot his Maieſte, efter gret thankis geuen vnto the ſaidis ambaffadouris, willit them to declair vnto ther princes, how that he wes very weill content of the lordis that wer about him, and that they wer all his awen ſubiectis willing till obey him ; bot that they had conceaued ſome hard apprehenſions of the Duc of Lenox, and ſome vthers that had bene about him of before. Albeit, his hart wes full of ſorow and diſpleſour, as he tald me him ſelf efterwart ; and euen then lykways to Meſter Cairo, cuſing to the Quen of England, wha roundit in his Maieſteis ear requesting him to tell the plan verite, quhilk he fuld kepe ſecret from Meſter Bowes his marrow, and alſo from the lordis, but only fuld ſchaw his inwart mynd priuely to the Quen his meſtres. Albeit, it nether apperit be the ſucces to haue bene kepit ſecret, nor yet maid that Quen any farther inſtance for his libertie.

The lordis in the mean tym thocht meit to hald ane conſaill, and raifonit vpon ther beſt, and reſoluit that ther enterpryſe wes gud ſeruice to his Maieſte, the kirk and commoun weall ; quhilk his Maieſte granted alſo to be trew. Wherupon ane act of conſaill wes fourmed and tane. And at that ſame time, the generall aſſemble of the kirk wes haldin at Edenbrough, to the quhilk his Maieſte wes moued to ſend tua commiſſioners, to teſtifie that his Maieſte had allowed for gud ſeruice the ſaidis lordis enterpryſe ; willing the kirk lykwais to find it



gud for ther partis, and ordour the commiffioners and minifters of ilk fchyre to publifs the fame to ther paroifchoners, and to get the principl  
149. pall gentilmens fubfcriptions to mentean the fame. Neuertheles his Maiefte tok the matter farther till hart then any man wald haue beleuit, and lamentit his mishandling to findre noblemen and vthers; and at lenth maid fome of them preuy that he intendit to releaue him felf with tym out of ther handis that held him as captyue, and defyred dyuers of them that he lippenit in, to affift him with ther confaill and help.

The lordis again that wer junit together for the reformation of the eftait, being quyt of the Duc of Lenox, wha wes paff throw England to France, wher he died fchortly efter of a feaknes contracted for difpleafour, and of the Erle of Arran, whom they kepit captyue, in the custody of the Erle of Gowry,—they reterit them felues from the court to ther houfes, that his Maiefte fuld not think him felf in any wayis keped be them; for they had gottin fome inteligence of his Maiefteis inwart greif for his taking and retenyng. Wherupon his Maiefte tok occafion to appoint ane convention to be halden in Santandrowes, for fome Englis affaires, efter the retournyng of the crownell Stuart and Mefter Jhon Coluill, wha baith had bene fend ther, and had not agreed weill concernyng ther commiffion, and brocht bak again dyuers answers. To the quhilk convention his Maiefte directyd miffyues to fome of the nobilite, bot to nane of the lordis that had laitly left him; fupponyng that they wald not com vnwreten for, and that way to flip him felf out of ther handis, and hald about him fic lordis as he had wreten for; to wit, the Erles of Argyll, Huntly, Montroife, Craffort, Rothas, and the Erle of Marche, wha wes ane indueller in St Androwes for the

tym, and the Erle of Gowry, of whom he thocht him felf affured of, bot for some respectis wald not employ him till efterwart, left the rest of his affociatis mycht allege that he had left them vnhonestly. For the said erle had repented him fair, that he had sufferit him felf to haue bene drawn be Dromwhassell to jun with the rest, efter he had sure infourmation how that the Duc of Lenox wes not layed for his schlachter, as wes allegit. Therfor he repented his foly, and offerit at all occasions to his Maieste to help to set him to his liberte.

Sa his Maieste thinking him felf affured of all thir noblemen, the day apponted for the convention draweing neir, it pleasit him to send the crownell Stuart to my house, schawing that his Maieste having ane of the gretest turnis ado that euer he had, directed him vnto me as vnto ane of his maist faithfull seruandis, and of whom he had gud proif be the trew warnyng that I had maid him before the alteration; as a sworn gentilman of his chamber, that I wald now help him to his liberte, quhilk he wes determinit to get at his being in Santandrowes, wher he wes till pass schortly to ane convention; and desyred my assistance and aduyse, and whais confaill his Maieste wes myndit to follow sa lang as he lyued; willing me be resolut not to refuse any seruice that his Maieste will propone to me at meting, and efter I had resolut to be at his Maieste in Facland, with all possible deligence. This commissioun wes to me very vnplaisant, for I had tane my leawe from the court, as being tyred and wried with the many alterations that I had seane, baith at hame and in vther contrees, and had gottin gret trouble and dommage be them for vther mens cause; therefore wes determinit and inclynit to lead a quyet contemplatyue lyf the rest of my dayes; quhilk this purpos of my prince and maister wes lyk to put



me fra. In this perplexitie, I had recourſe be humble prayer vnto God, ſa to direct my doingis as that they mycht tend to his glory, and to the weall of my prince and contre ; and then according to my deutifull obedience, paſt vnto his Maieſte.

P. 150. When I cam to his Maieſte in Facland, he tald me of his intention and deliberation ; lamenting his hard eſtait and miſhandling be his awen ſubiectis, and what diſpleaſour he had tane ; and how that he wes thoct bot a beaſt, be other princes nybours, for ſuffring ſa many indignities ; with ſic vther ſpeeches as the crownell had declaired amply to me in his hynes name. I again diſcourſit vnto his Maieſte, the commown eſtait of all contrees during ther princeſ minorite, ſtryuing for ſtait and for the cheif handling, wherby to aduance them ſelues and ther frendis ; as did the houſe of Guiſe, during the yong age of K. Francis 2. ; the Prince of Conde, during the ring of K. Charles the ix. of France, and the King of Navar ; lykwais the Duckis of Somerſyd and Northumberland, during the youth of K. Edwart the vj. in England ; and asweill in the Quen his mothers tym as now in his awen tym ; ſome till aduance ther awen affaires, ſome to deffend and meantean ther awen eſtait and ſurete, enterpryſes and ſtryffes ; nane of the parties bearing any euell will to his Maieſte, euery ane being in loue with him, and wald be nereſt vnto his perſone, albeit ſome of them be oftymes tranſported, other be ambition gredines or vengeance, till ouerſhut them ſelues and forget ther dewty. Princes again that ar wyſe, when they com to parfyt age, haue euer found it ther beſt to pardone and ouerſee all ſic faltis as ar don at ſic hard tymes, be oure gret number of ſubiectis. As when K. Charles 9. agreed with the Prince of Conde, all his formair offences wer reckonit for gud ſeruiſe ; “ and as

your Maieſte has done, in agreeing with ſamany of your nobilitie as wer in fear, that the Duc of Lenox and the Erle of Arran wald hurt baith them and the eſtait of the contre, as they allegit.

“ Now, fir, gif your Maieſte ſall ſlip fra them, they will think ther eſtaitis in greter danger, not be your ſelf, bot be ſome of ther vnfrendis that may fall in again about yow ; and albeit they be preſently abſent, they haue baith a gard and ſome of ther frendis preſently about your Maieſte ; and then they will not fail to kepe the convention, and be aſchone at Santandroues as the other lordis to whom your Maieſte hes ſend your wretingis ; for it ſtandis them upon ther lyues, ther landis and hornour, to be ſtill maiſters beſyd your Maieſte. Therfor ſaving your Maieſteis awen contentement of mynd, ye ar now in a better and furer eſtait nor ye wilbe, abandonyng them, incaice ye get it not weall done and brocht till paſs ; wherein ther wilbe found greter difficulte then apperantly is als deaply confidderit as the cauſe requyres.”

All thir diſſuaſions had na force to ſtay his Maieſte from his formair deliberation ; as having ſufferit ſome diſpleaſour, tok vp a princely courage eyther to put him ſelf to fre liberte or to dy be the way. Bot for to folow the exemples of vther wyſe princes, as he had begun him ſelf to allow for gud ſeruice the enterpryſe callit the Raid of Ruthven, ſa that being anes at fre liberte, he ſuld mak a generall law of obliuion, for all bygain faultis and errours committed be his nobilitie and ſubiectis during his minorite ; and fra that tym fourth to be as a father to the contre, and ane equall prince to all his ſubiectis ; na mans bluid, na mans land, geir nor office to be tane fra them, and to ſatiſſie the kirk ; to agre parties to ſatle the eſtait, and to be ſeruit with the diſcreteſt perſonnes that ſuld be ſocht and found out in all the contre.



P. 151. His Maieſte promyſed alſo to be ſecret, conſtant, and confellable ; for the firſt, it wes thocht expedient that his Maieſte ſuld be in Santandrowes ſome few dayes before the convention ; that being fre ther, ane proclamation mycht be maid to forbid any nobleman or vther to com to the convention without ane expreſs wreting. For that effect, it wes deuſed that the Erle of Marche ſuld requyre his Maieſte to be in St Androues, tua or thre dayes before the ſaid convention, be raiſoun of his preparation of wyeld meat and vther freſche fleſches, that wald ſpill incaice his Maieſte cam not to mak gud cheir with him ſome dayes before. Whervpon his Maieſte paſt fordwart, contraire to the oppinion of ſome that wer about him, wha durſt not tak the baldnes to ſtay him ; bot part of them ſpak and ſaid, that it was not meit that his Maieſte ſuld ryd, before that the lordis wha wer abſent mycht be aduertift. Nevertheles his Maieſte paſt fordwart, and had apponted the Erle of Marche, the proueſt of Santandrowes, with ſome vther barrons to meit him at Darze. At quhilk meting his Maieſte thocht him ſelf at liberte, with gret joy and exclamation, lyk a burd flowen out of a kaige, paſſing his tym in hacking be the way, efter the ſaid meting, thinking him ſelf then fur anough. Albeit I thocht his eſtait far furer when he was in Facland ; for he was logit in the auld Ins, a part very open, the yard dykes being his greteſt ſtrenth ; and few of his lordis, that he had wreten for the ſecond tym, to be at Santandrowes aſſchone as he, wer not yet com, except only the Erle of Crafford, wha was neir hand for the tym in Contes-karney.

In the mean tym, I parſauit the folly, and paſt to the proueſt of the town to knaw what forces he had within the town at his deuotion. He ſaid, very few, and that the commonte wer not to be lippenit vnto.

Then I askit, wha wes in the castell. He said, the bischop; wha was delt with incontinent, to haue the castell in a redines to resauue his Maieste; quhilk he promysed to do. Bot when I returnit to his Maieste, and beleued that the proclamation had bene maid, na man to com to the convention bot samany as wer wreten for, I fand that the abbot of Domfermeling was arriuit out of Lochleuen, and the Erle Marchall out of Dundee. The Erle of Mar wes still with his Maieste, bot all the lordis wer aduertit with deligence from Facland, how that his Maieste wes riden sa sodanly to Santandrowes; willing them to mak haift to be ther, or else they wald com ouer lait. The said abbot for his part wes schone anough ther, and behaued him self sa extolling his Maiesteis enterpryse, that he retenit sufficient credit to cast down all ther deuyces that wer vpon the Kingis course; for he wes a speciall doer vpon the contrair syde, and said that it wes not meit be proclamation to stay the nobilite, bot rather to wret misfayres to them, not to come accompanied with ma than ten persones with euery nobleman.

When his Maieste tald me this, I wes very angry, and schew how that it wes the hye way to put him again, be craft and without thankis, in ther handis whom he had laitly left; and that without purpos, proceeding sa cairlesly as to folow ther awen counsaill against them selues assuring his Maieste that they wer comyng fordwart very stark and i armes, and wer lyk to be schoner ther then the lordis that he had wreten for; and mycht com in quyetly them selues, and cause the companyes com in twais and thres to the town; wheras it had been better to let them com altogither, that ther haill forces mycht be

P. 152.

And yet his Maieste wes laith to enter within the castell that nycht, for his greter secrete. vntill it wes very lait after supper; g

them that wer ther alredy, leafer till aduyse them, and till enterpryse that same nycht to tak him again, incaice he had past to the Abbey gard to walk, as they had persuadit him, vntill the castell wer prepared. And some wer alredy entrit within the said gard in armour for that effect; wherof some suspition wes tane, and therfore his Maieste being aduertifed, chengit purpos in passing by the gard get to the castell.

The nyxt day, the haill lordis asweill fend for as on fend for, arryued at Santandrowes. The Kingis lordis quyete without armour, the other lordis very stark in armour. The Erle Marchall, the Erle of Mar and the abbot of Domfermeling, logit within the castell with his Maieste; wher the wyly abbot gaif the King counsaill, to let nane of the lordis com within the castell, accompanied with more than xij persones; he feamyng euer to be vpon the Kingis oppinion. This crafty counsaill being folowed, the nyxt mornyng the castell was full of men for them of the contrair party, weall armed, and wha had tane the stair headis and galleries alredy, mynding again to be maisters of K. and all the rest. Quhilk being ouer lait foirfean, diligence wes vsed to bring within the castell incontinent all the Erle of Marches gentilmen, with the yong lard of Darze, the lardis of Balcomy, Segy, Forret, Barnis, the gudman of Fengis, and samany of the town as wer at the proueftis deuotion; quhilk remedied that enterpryse for that nycht. The Erle of Gowry was also a gret stay in that matter. Albeit he cam ther also stark and also angry as any of the lordis, yet he wes aduertift of the Kingis gud will towardis him, and wes won and drawen fra the rest. Sa that dangerous day being ouerpast without any harm done, the nyxt day sic gud ordour was tane, that his Maieste was maister of the castell; and folowed na mair the said abbotis counsaill, bot declaired his

moderat mynd to all the lordis, and to the Fyf barrons, and townis of the coift fyd, wha had bene sent for ; and lykwayes to the minifters and maifters of the college.—“ That albeit he had bene detenit a whyll againft his pleefour, yet his intent wes not to imput it as a crym, nor na vther thing done in his minorite ; bot wald put in obliuion all byganes, fatiffie the kirk, agre parties, and be equall to all his fubiectis ; knowing nane of them to bear him any euell will, and that they wer dryuen to do any thing that they had enterpryfed, be the force of ther awen falchious partialites ;”—with many vther wordis of his clemency and difcretion, to all ther contentementis. And thereafter he ordonit four lordis, tua of euery faction, to reteir them for a whyll, to wit the Erles of Angus and [Mar] Bodowell, and the Erles of Huntly and Crafford ; reteanyng all the reft about him as indifferent, for his ordinary confaill, by whais aduyfe to fattill his eftait, and thereafter to bring again to court the haill lordis abone named. Then his Maiefte callit for me before a nomber of the faidis lordis, and gaif me greter commendation and thankis than I had merited, as the only instrument vnder God of his libertie. His Maiefte caufed alfo mak a proclamation, conform to his formair fpeeches and moderat intention. Bot I tok na pleafour to be prayfed, in the prefence of fa many ; anfwering to his Maiefte, that I had the ill will alredy of famany as wer vpon the purpos of his detention

P. 153. Now matters being fattedled as apperit, and lyk to tak gud fucces, fome of the Kingis lordis that had bene flaw in commyng, and when they wer com, finding the lordis of the contrary faction at Santandrowes ftark and in armour, had denyed that they knew any thing of his Maiefteis enterpryfe, bot layed the haill bourden vpon the crownell

Stuart and me. Now again when they saw apperance of a prosperous success, they took the matter stoutly vpon them, and began in plane confaill to tell, how lang they had bene vpon the confaill of that enterpryse with his Maieste, and wer lang attending vpon his aduertissement.

Of a treuth his Maieste wes of a mercifull mynd, and gently inclynit towardis all the nobilite, intending to won all ther hartis be his awen discret behauour. And to that effect he past first to the house of Ruthven, to lat the contre see that he was entierly reconcyllit with the Erle of Gowry ; wha efter he had maid his Maieste a gret banket, sat down vpon his knees, lamenting that his Maieste fuld haue bene retenit in that vnhappy house at his last being ther ; quhilk he said chancit rather be accident then deliberation, only for the salfete of the Erle of Arrans lyf. Alleging that he knew na vther thing bot, at his Maiesteis being in Domfermeling, they wer all myndit to present vnto him ane humble supplication, abone specified ; asking pardon for that accidentall falt, quhilk his Maieste gratioussly promysed never till imput vnto him, knowing how blindlingis he wes brocht vpon it, be the practyses of vthers.

In this mean tyme, James Stuart Erle of Arran, had obteanit sa mekle fauour as to be wardit in Kynneill, his awen house for the tyme, send and congratulat his Maiesteis liberte, desyring that he mycht haue access to com and kisse his Maiesteis hand ; quhilk wes planly refused. Then he send daily his oppinion and aduise unto his Maieste, how till proceed against dyuers of the nobilite and vthers ; thinking also meit to send and bring again vnto the court the Erles of Huntly and Craffort ; quhilk wes ouer easely granted vnto, be the Erles of Argyll and Montrose ; only the Erle of Gowry refist, alleging that the Erles of

Bodowell [Mar] and Angus wer put in hope to be also brocht in again, afweill and affchone as they. Bot equalite that was looked for was forget ; moving the Erles Marchall and vthers to draw them hame to ther houfes. The abbot of Domfermeling remanit ftill at court ; and to won fauour of the crownell Stuart, then capten of the gard, he gaif him a purfe and xxx pieces of gold at four pond the pice ; quhillk pieces the crownell diftributit to famany of the gard, wha borit them, and fet them lyk targetis vpon ther knappiskais, and the purfe was born vpon a fpair point lyk an enfeingge. The abbot fchortly efter wes wardit in Lochleuen ; Mefter Jhon Coluill, the lard of Cleifch and Dromwhaffell wer also wardit, be the aduyce of the Erle of Arran and his wyf, wha folifted continoually his Maiefte that they mycht com to the court ; and at lenth I wes requested be his agent James Stuart, now Sir James of , to be ane inftrument to deall with his Maiefte to permit the faid erle to com again to the court ; for he faid that his Maiefte was fauourable anough, and that the Erles of Argyll, Huntly, Craffort, and Montroife had not only geven ther confent, bot that the Erles of Argyll and Montroife had faid vnto his Maiefte, that they fuld ryd them felues and fetche him ; only the Erle of Gowry refifted ; and that the K. had fchawen him that he wald do nathing therin without my confent and aduyfe. I faid again, that his Maiefte nedit not to feak my confent, gif him felf and famany noblemen wer content. He replied again, that his Maiefte repofed vpon me at that tyme, mair nor vpon all his confaill, as his Maiefte had fchawen him, and that he wald not bring him in by my confent.

P. 154. Wherupon I paff vnto his Maiefte, and fchew him what langage James Stuart, feruant to the Erle of Arran, had halden to me, anent his maifters commyng to court ; and how that his Maiefte,

layed ouer gret a bourthen vpon me, as to fay that he wald do na-thing by my consent. Then his Maieſte tok me to the gallerie of Fac-land, and lamented, as he had bene inſourmed, the loſs of many of his beſt frendis ; as the Erles of Lenox, Atholl, Duc of Lenox ; “ and now,” ſaid he, “ the Erle of Arran, wha hazard his lyf to com and re-leaue me, they will not geue him leaue to com and ſe me.” Therefore his Maieſte deſyred me to tell him, what mycht be ther occaſion to hat him as they did. My anſuer wes, that to hyd the verite parellit his Maieſte, and the telling of the treuth parellit myſelf. His Maieſte wald nedis wit my meanyng therin. I ſaid, becauſe he is ane of the worſt inſtrumentis that culd cum about his Maieſte ; wherof he had ouer hard a proif, being all the lait enterpryſe, only maid for his miſ-behauour ; and gene euer he gat place again, the lyk or war ſall follow therupon ; “ and my parell for telling your Maieſte the verite is, that he wilbe my deadly ennemy, incaice it be ſchawen vnto him again.” Then his Maieſte deſyred to let him com and kiſs his hand, and that he ſuld tary na langer ; willing me to deall with my L. of Gowry, that he wald alſo grant that he mycht com bot anes to the court, and ſuld retourn incontinent to his houſe without any tary. I ſaid, I ſuld cauſe him yeld to his Maieſteis pleaſour.

In the mean tyme, I tok occaſion to declair vnto his Maieſte, how that many princes ar wraked be ther ambitious conſellours, that will reull all ther allane, taking vpon them a greter bourthen then they may bear ; for remedy wherof, his Maieſte ſuld ſpend euery day bot ane hour, to hear a choſen number of honeſt conſellouris raifoun vpon his affaires ; then him ſelf to ſet fordwart his oppinion, that he can weall anough juge and vnderſtand to be the beſt and meteſt to be

followed fourth, as the K. of France vsed to do. Quhilk his Maieste granted very willingly, and sa lang as he keped that ordour, by the ordinary consaill dayes, his turnis went richtly fordwart. Of thir number wer the haill lordis that had affistid his Maieste, Sir Robert my brother, the crownell Stuart, the lard of Segy and my self.

Bot sa schone as the Erle of Arran gat presens of his Maieste, he not only stayer at court, aganest promyse, bot also alterit within a schort tym all this kynd of preuy conference, to do all his allain. Albeit, at his first entre he vsed him self humbly. Efter he had kiffit his Maiesteis hand, he embracit me and kiffit my cheik; geving me many thankis in his Maiesteis presence; alleging that all the name of the Stuartis wer obligit to me, for the notable seruice he allegit I had done vnto his Maieste. And as for him, he said he fuld neuer tak any thing in hand, bot be directed be my brother and me and the lard of Segy. Bot the crownell and he spak not togither, vntill his Maieste willit me to agre them; quhilk I did at lenth. At the first the crownell swoir a gret aith, that gif his Maieste sufferit that vilain to remain in court, that he wald yet again vndo all. For a whyll he held him quyet, bot na apperance of his hame ganging.

P. 155. Somtymes he wald reprove my gentill kynd of proceeding in his Maiesteis effaires, and culd not abyd to se them handled be a number; and pat in his Maiesteis head, that he wald find it a faschious busynes to be encombrit with many contrary oppinions; bot willit him to tak his pastym at hunting, and he fuld tary in and heir us, and report again at his Maiesteis retournyng, all our oppinions and conclussions. This he obserued tua or thre tymes; and in schort spaice chengit that ordour, and tok na mans aduyse bot his awen; yet said vnto his Maieste, that



he had all our counsaill and consent to cause his Maieste folow a violent course, directly against his Maiesteis first deliberation, intention and proclamation of clemency and forgetfulnes of all thingis that fell out in his Maiesteis minorite: and caused mak contrary proclamations against them of the raid of Ruthven, ordonyng them all to tak remissions, for that quhilk of before was allowed for gud seruice; moving dyuers noblemen and vthers to draw them far from the court for fear, till some places of securite. And when he caused red before the counsaill his new invented proclamation, I opponit my self to it, saying that it wes directly against his Maiesteis mynd and promyse. He lap out of the counsell house in ane rage, and said I wald wrak the King be my maner of doing. I said again, "Other ye or I;" with some schairp pricking langage, sa that it wes stayed for that tym; till efterwart he awated a meit occasion to get it past, be a flattering faction that assisted him, tournyng all vplyd down, putting a gret number of noblemen and vthers in fear of their estait. And when any of ws that wer deuot to his Maiesteis prosperous and quyet estait, wald schaw the dangerous and vnpartinent proceedingis of the said erle, his Maieste wald be very fory, and said he maid him beleue that he did nathing bot be common consent of the counsaill; and when his Maieste vnderstod the contrary, was very earnest and willing to amend the disorder; bot was still circonuenit be the said erle, and sic as for fear, flattery, or proffit set fordwart all his pretences, casting for na parell.

About this tym ther cam ane schairp wreting from the Quen of England vnto his Maieste; wha thocht the noblemen that wer put at, and wer absent from court, metest instrumentis to be about his Maieste, for the enterenement of the amytye betuen ther Maiesteis and contrees,

and wes not content to fe them ſa hardly handled. The cotype of the ſaid lettre I haue inferrit heir in vnder, wreten with hir Maieſteis awen hand.

“ Amongeft your many ſtudies, my dear brother and cufing, I wald Iſocrates noble leſſoun wer not forgottin, that willis themperour his ſouerain to mak his wordis of more accompt then other men ther aithes, as meiteiſt enſeignies to ſchaw the treweſt bagie of a prince armes.

“ It moueth me muche to mon you, when I behald how diuerſely findre wickit ſpritis diftract your mynd, and bendis your courſe to cruckit paithes, and lyk all euell illuſions, wrappit vnder the cloik of your beſt good. How can it be, that you can ſuppoſe ane honncrable anſwer may be maid vnto me, when all your doingis gainſay your formair woves. You deall not with one whais experience can tak droſs for gud payement, nor one that eaſely wilbe begyllit. No, no. I mynd to ſet to ſcuell your craftyeſt conſellours.

“ I am ſory to ſe you bent to wrong your ſelf, in thinking to wrong vthers ; yea thoſe, who gif they had euen then taken opportunitie to let a ruyne that wes newly begun, that plat wald haue parellit you more than a thouſand of ſuch mens lyues be worth, that perſwad you to awow ſuch dedes, to deſyre a faultles pardone. Why do you forget what you wret to my ſelf with your awen hand, ſchawing how dangerous a courſe the Duc wes entrit in ; thoch you excuſed him ſelf, to think no euell therein ; and yet they that wer your ſaiſſetie, conſerued you from it, you moſt now ſeam to geue them reproche of giltie folkis. I hope you moir eſteam your honour, then to geue it ſuch a ſtayne ;

fence you haue protested so often to haue taken these lordis for your moift effectiōit subiectis, and to haue done all for your best. To conclud, I beseech you pass no farther in this course, till you receaue express messenger, a trusty seruand of myn, be whom I mean to deall lyk ane effectiōit sister with you; as of whom you shall see plainly you may receaue honnour and contentement, with more suretie to your self and stait then all thosē discerning counsellors will, or can bring vnto you; as knowes the Lord, to whose moift faif keeping I do commit you, with my many commendations to your persone.

“ Your maist assured and faithfullest sister and coufin,

“ ELIZABETH.”

Vnto this lettre, his Maiestie commandit me to minut ane answer in his hyenes name, that he mycht wret it ouer again with his awen hand, samekle of it as he shuld find meit; for the abbot of Domfermling, secretary for the tyme, was in suspition to haue bene vpon the contrary course.

#### THE COPIE OF THE ANSWER.

“ Madame, for congratulation of my liberte, I haue receaued a lang lettre of yours, accomodit at the entre with that sentence of Yfocrates, which willett princes wordis to be more entierly obserued than other mens aithes; as thoch finester report were maid vnto you, of some forgetfulnes in me; or that ye fear, in tymes commyng, that I faill in keeping of sic promyses vnto my frendis, as may be maid vpon iust and convenient occasions.

“ For answer vnto that head, I remember afweill that saying of Yfocrates, as I do another, wher he wald not haue them halden for frendis, that allow or prayse whatfoeuer we say or do, bot rather sic as modestly reproue our faltis. So that I tak your schairp admonition at this tym, as proceeding of a fisterly loue, albeit vpon wrang information ; hopping that sa schone as ye fall trewly vnderstand of my hard handling and patient behauour, ye salbe sa weill satisfied, as to discerne me to haue done nathing bot that which ye wald haue done your self in the lyk estait.

“ First when I wes detenit captywe with a faire coulour, it pleseth you to send your ambassadours, lyk as did the K. of France, frendly to vefit me, offering me gret kyndnes and help, incaice I nedit any for the tym ; wherof I render you yet hartly thankis, alleging that I was weall content, and had gud frendis about me, quhilk wes very trew. For ane part of the same lordis that wer then about me, persauyng my greif and miscontentement, offerit euen then to releaue me, whenfoeuer I wald desyre to be at greter liberte. Wherupon I maid you then that answer, quhilk ye mak mention of in your lettre, as I maid the lyk  
 p. 137. answer vnto the Frenche ambassadour. Neuertheles I was euer myndit at a meit tym to releawe my self, for my honnour, as I haue done presently ; folowing another saying of Yfocrates, willing princes to hazard rather to die honestly, than to rengne schamfully. How I did regne for the tym, ye mycht knaw be your cusing Mester Cairo ; in whoife ear I roundit familiarly my inwart greif, because he said ye willit him to requyre it at me a part, promysen that it fuld be secretly kepit from all vthers. Albeit, I vsed not sic planes with Mester Bowes. Indeid I subseruit sic wretis and lettres as the saidis lordis presented them vnto

me ; for the tym wes vnmeit to disput ouer precisely vpon circumstances, that wer futed and determinit be them that wer maisters of me and of the estait.

“ This answer, I suppoise, shall satisfie your awen raifonable and equitable iugement, discretly discourfing the same with your self a part. I dout gene it will be fa interpret be vthers of your consaill, that haue any particulair courses of ther awen ; to whom becaufe I imput the haill hard langage contenit in your angry lettre, and not vnto your self and gentill inclination, I think it not neidfull now to wret answer vnto euery point of the same. Sa attending patiently vpon your better intelligence and information in thir matters, I will rather hald in memory your formair frutfull frendfchip, then now to start at any wrang fet ffillabe, or four sentence, plaicit in your paiper at the partiall instance of vthers.

“ As concernyng that which tuechis the Duc of Lenox, his godly end has declared his honeft meanyng ; whais death I mycht iustly lay vpon fuch as forceably remoued him from my presens. Neuertheles I purpos to put all bygains in obliuion, and to compel na man to tak a faltles pardon.

“ Wher ye defyre that I procead na farther, vntill a trusty messenger may com from you ; I intend to stay from doing any thing till then, that may iustly offend you ; albeit Yfocrates aduyfes princes spedely to execut sic turnis as gud consaill thinkis necessary to be done ; wiffing that he wha falbe sent, may be afwilling to work the effectis of trew loue and frendfchip between ws, as I am affured it is baith our awen hartis defyre and intentione. Wherunto I prey the Lord to rant increafe, continowance and happy succes, to his glory, weall and quyetnes of ws, and baith our realmes.”

The secretary Walsingame was he of whom mention is maid in hir Maiesteis lettre, to be sent in heir ; bot he wes lang be the way, be raifoun that he wes sickly. In the mean tym, Mr Bowes wha wes ambassadour resident in Edenbrough, had resaut this lettre be the ordinary poist, and sent abak the answer. He declaired many commendations from my L. Burly and many of ther consaill, to my brother and me ; alleging that they wer glaid that sic men wer about his Maieste, that wer of ther religion, and with whom they wer lang acquainted ; wiffing many sic to be in court.

About this tym, the Erle of Arran obteanit the keping of the castell of Stirling, and ingyred him self sa far fordwart, that he tok vpon him the haill handling of the effaires, and caused findre noblemen to be baniffit ; as the Erles of Mar, Angus, mefter of Glamis, and dyuers vthers ; and be his infolency drawe the Erle of Gowry from court, against his Maiesteis intention for the tym ; wha send me for him to his house, to bring him again to court, quhilk was for the tym in Couper in Fyf. Wher his Maieste agreed him and the Erle of Arran ; bot nathing wes kepit to Gowry ; for he wes sa vexit and put at, that he tok purpos to leaue the contre.

P. 158. I haue alredy declaired, how laith I was that other his Maieste fuld leaue the lordis that wer about him, or that I fuld in any wyse be a medler again in court, be raifoun of the many dangerous alterations that I had sean, be lang frequentation and hurtfull experience. Yet the gret oppinion I had of his Maiesteis gud inclynation, religion, conscience, and constancy, I thocht of conscience and dewty I culd not refuse his requesting commandement, being my natywe prince and maister, and I his humble subiect and sworn seruant, as his domestik,

first in the office of gentilman of his chamber, and sijn of his counsell. Bot efter his hyenes taking to be kepit for a whyll, I was na mair admitted be his keepers, wha thocht meit for ther surete, to place about his Maieste men to be hailely for them, and at ther deuotion. As for my awen part, as I wes forie that his Maieste suld be vsed bot at his awen plesour, sa I was content to be sufferit to lyue quyetly at hame the rest of my dayes. Now again, persauyng his Maiestes projet, and acceptable proclamations slely and cunningly chengit, by his Maiesteis awen clement intention, in contrary proclamations, and violent perfutis and proceedingis against them of the Raid of Ruthven, rendring therby ouer gret a number of noblemen and vthers dispaired of ther surete and lyves ; in a lamenting maner I remembrit his Maieste, how he was handlit, and what gret inconvenientis wer lyk till ensue therby. His Maieste was very sorowfull, and myndit till amend the disfordour ; bot aduysed alwayes with them that wer the cheif instrumentis therof ; belenyng that they loued him and the weall of his effaires, because he loued them ; they again making an outward schaw to satisfiye his expectation, indirectly be the meanes of ouer many that dependit vpon the Erle of Arrans extraordinair credit and fauour, the contrary of his Maiesteis princely and vprycht meanyng was parfourmed, and folowed fourth, that many noblemen left the contre, and honest men left the court, to the gret contentement of the Erle of Arran and his wyf, to gyd all ther allane. And that they mycht the easelyer set fordwart ther course, they persuadit his Maieste to pass to Stirling, wher few or nane durst repaire, because the said erle was for the tym capten of the castell of Stirling, and prouest of the town. I was also reterit

from court, efter I had oft warnit his Maieſte of ſic dangerous proceedingis.

His Maieſte being in Stirling, aſkit oftymes for me, and regreted that I wes not continowally beſyd him. Wherupon the Erle of Arran deuſed, that I ſuld be ſend ambaffadour to the Quen of England; aſweill to hald me abſent from his Maieſteis ear, as to tak occaſion at my retournyng to put me in ſome diſgrace; becauſe he was affured that I culd do na gud at that tym. And commounly, when mens commiſſions takis na gud effect, they ar callomnyat be ther vnfrendis and envyers, as vnmeit inſtrumentis, vnſkilfull and indiſcret; quhilk calomnies gettis oftymes ouer gret credit, when matters ſucceadis not confourm to the deſyre of the maiſter. Before that his Maieſteis wreting cam to my handis for the ſaid voyage, I had dyted a lang lettre to haue ſend vnto his Maieſte, as a remembrance of his formair promyſes and proclamations; and what inconvenientis wer lyk till enſew, in the ſetting fordwart of a contrary cours; together with ſic ſalutary and ſodain remedy as I culd think meteſt for the tym.

P. 159. The tenour of his Maieſteis lettre vnto me,—That he had ſome matters to communicat vnto me, wherin he intendit to employe baith my adwyſe and panes, and therfore that I ſuld addreſs my ſelf to be at him in Stirling with all convenient expedition, efter the ſicht of the ſaid wreting; wher I ſuld vnderſtand mair amply the occaſion of my ſending for, as I wald do him acceptable plesour and gud ſeruice. Wreten from the caſtell of Stirling, the 22 of October 1583.

Efter the recept of this wreting, I raid vnto his Maieſte, and tok with me the lettre quhilk I had pennit of before, as I haue ſaid; wherof the coppie folowes.



“ Sir, As it has pleased your Maieſte heirtofoire accept my gud will for agreable ſeruiſe, euen ſa I hope that your Hyenes conſtant fauour ſhall continow towardis me, now and in tymes commyng, neuertheles of my preſent abſens and diſeaſe. For albeit that during your Grace yong aige, I wes ſufferit to lyue happely at hame, from the falſchious handling of public effaires, yet I knew my ſelf obligit to bear my portionable bourthen in your ſeruiſe, ſa ſchone as it wald pleaſe your hyenes command and charge me therwith. Being then maiſt affured to walk in ane juſt and lawfull vocation, wherintill to geue continuall teſtimony of my dewtifull obedience, not preſumyng to geue your Hynes conſaill, haue only tane the baldnes to preſent vnto your Hynes in thir few lynes, my ſemple oppinion of thingis that ar apperantly to fall out vpon your Maieſteis lait proceadingis.

“ For when it pleaſeth your Maieſte, at your firſt paſſing till Santandrowes, to tak vpon your ſelf the fre gouernement of your effaires, your Hynes gracious intention and propoſition then was not only maiſt agreable to the haill lordis, miniſters and barrons ther preſent for the tym, bot alſo to the reſt of your gud ſubiectis, when as they vnderſtode of your raifonable pretence. Quhilk being now vtherwayes fallen out and interpret, then wes eyther firſt intendit or determinit, is able to breid commer and diſordour, onles your Maieſte, be wiſdome and dexteritie, preuent the apperant inconvenientis. For it pleaſeth your Maieſte then openly to declare, how that ye only ſocht, with your awen reputation and ſurete, the weall and ſaiffete of your haill ſubiectis, as maiſt willing to ſatiſfie the kirk, to agree parties, to put out of memorie the name of factions, and in perpetuell obliuion all crymes committed in your Maieſteis minoritie; acknowleging all ſic as

chancit to be done during the same, bot to haue fallen out between subiect and subiect, for sic particulair respectis as your Maieste neuer purposed till imput ; bot to reinge ouer them all in tymes comming as ane gracious father, and that be aduysed of the least factious, best affected of the nobilitie, barrons and vther sufficient subiectis ; and na man to be placit nor preferrit about your Maieste, be fauour of surname, kin, frend or allia, bot for sufficiency, vertu, and loyalte. As also, gene any wer to be absented or send hame for a seasoun, it suld not be done at the instance of any inuious futter of his office, or particulair party, bot for your Maiesteis honnour and surete, during your pleasour ; leaving them still in hope, throw gud behauour, till obtean again famylier acces about your Maieste as of before.

“ Gif this calm cours had bene folowed fourth, there was apperance of ane quyet estait. Bot altering and chenging this gentill kind of doing, in ane schairp and violent persut of findre, be seaking out of ouer many faltis in the personnes of sa many gret and actyue men, it has bred sic miscontentment, and sa furious a faction, that gene sodane remedy be not prouydit, ciuill discention and despaired enterpryses acht to be loked for, be all sic as haue sufficient experience of the nature of Scottis men, and seamly intelligence of the deportmentis of dyuers, quhilk the necessite of ther vnfare estait may weill dryue them haiftely till tak in hand.

P. 160. “ It is true, that the standing of commoun wealis consistis mekle in rewarding of the gud, and punisshment of the wickit. Na dout bot faltis anew haue bene done during your nonaige ; bot to seak them out narrowly, and to punissh them straitly, in sic caices, and at sic tymes, in maters wher many haue dippit, is not best. And yet gif your

Maieſte wer willing, as I knaw perfytylly ye ar not, I can ſe na outgait how to get it done againſt ſa gret a nomber, having ſa ſmall ſubſtance and forcis, and ſa mychty and aduantageous nybours, lying ſtill at the wait vpon all ſic contraverſies and occaſions, wherby to ſerue ther awen turn. This alſo acht to be preſently reſpected, that the wonted reuerence borne be the ſubiectis vnto the princely authorite of ther ſoueranis, is mekle decayed in this contre, be raiſoun of the Quenis youth and lang abſens; and euen ſa in your Maieſteis tym, for ſome of the lyk cauſes; cheifly becauſe that your Maieſte being yet yong, has bene accompanied this whyll paſt with the yongeſt and meaneſt fort of your nobilite, wha, albeit they be faithfull and affectionit to ſet fordwart your ſeruice, yet the reſt of your ſubiectis alleging them to be factious, yngnorant and nedy, doubtis of ther diſcret behauour, ſeing them pretend to eſtabliſch the eſtait be forces.

“Hardly may a prince aſſure him ſelf, at all occaſions, to chuſe a ſure courſe wherin ther ſalbe na parell. For commownly men thinking to eſchape out of ane inconvenient, fall oftymes into another. Therefore prudency conſiſtis till vnderſtand the qualites of dangers, and to tak the leaſt euell for the beſt. Some kingdomes and countrees ar gouernit be force, and ſome be fairnes. On the other part, ſubiectis obey eyther for aw or loue. Then the prince is reputed eyther fecles or fearfull, wha can not won the hartis of his ſubiectis be ane of thir twa. For eyther mon the meanis be tane at anes fra men that deſerue to be ſuſpected, wherby they mycht do harm; or elis to ſatiſfie them in ſic fort, as with raiſoun they aucht to be ſa content, that they nether neid to deſyre, nor think it convenient for them to ſeak any



"The emperor Adrian ſperit out all men of gret age and experience, and helpit him ſelf be ther many parelis.

"Alexander Seuerus wald parform na matter of importance, bot with aduyce of the maift ancientis, and beft experimented. He never went out of Rome, vn being accompanied, with four or fyve of the maift honorable, ancient and graue perſonages, that nane fuld neid to fear that he wald commit any errour or racles turn. He never ſufferit the ſenat to conclud any weichty purpoſ, onles fyfty of them had bene preſent. He cauſed all his conſellouris to put ther oppinions in wret, to ſe gene any wer poſſeſt with paſſions or particularites. He chengit oft his cheif familiarite with findre of the ſenat, incaice he wha had ay and only the prence ear, mycht be ouercom with importunat preſentis, budis and parcialite.

"The vrgent neceſſite of the tym, maift noble and excellent prince, cauſes me to be ſa langſome and tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and hartly kiſſing your Maieſteis hand, I prey the eternell, Sir, to grant your hyenes ane lang and happy lyf. From Halhill, this 15 of October, 1583.

"Your Maieſteis maift humble and obedient ſeruitour,

"JAMES MELVILLE."

When I cam to Stirling, and ſchew his Maieſte this lettre, he not only lyked weill of it, bot alſo promyſed to folow the ſame aduyſe contentit therin, and lamented for the parcial dealing of many that wer about him. Only he ſaid, that my brother Sir Robert wes vpon a ſound courſe for the quyeting of the eſtate; and that ſome noblemen

againſt whais parcialites he had oponit him ſelf, had diſcordit with him in his Maieſteis prefens.

It pleaſed his Maieſte alſo to tell me the cauſe why I was wreten for, was to be ſent in England, and trauell with the Quen ther, for enterenement of the mutuell amytye, and increaſe of hir fauour and gud will concernyng the title and ſucceſſion to the crown, and aſſiſtance to help till eſtabliſh his parturbit eſtait, be the infolence and particularites of his ſubiectis, bred and ingendred amang them during his minorite.

I anſwerit, that the tym wes vnmeit, and that England wald mak na accompt preſently of him, nor nane that mycht be ſent fra him, vntill firſt, he wald let it be ſean and hard that he culd ſattill his awen eſtait, and be wiſdome render his awen ſubiectis redy till obey him. That being done, they wald redout him, and eſteam him ; and that the beſt and redieſt way till obtean alſo ſome day the crown of England, was to gyd Scotland ſa weall, as that they mycht grean and wiſe to be vnder the gouernement of ſic a prince.

Be this langage, his Maieſte was content that my voyage ſuld be ſtayed vntill a mair convenient tym. Sa I returnit fra court to my awen houſe.

P. 162. It is mentionit heir aboue, in the Quen of Englandis lettre, how that ſche was myndit to ſend a truſty ſaruant vnto his Maieſte, willing him to ſtay fra any ſtrait proceeding againſt the lordis that wer put at for the Raid of Ruthven, vntill the arryuing of the ſaid ambaffadour; quhilk was the ſecretary Walfingame, a confellour of worthy qualites, and wha had gret credit with the Quen of England. Bot he wes of a feakly complexion, and mycht not indure the poiſt ; therefore wes lang be



the way, caried in a colche or chariot ; ſa that during his langſome voyage, the Erle of Arran paſt ay fordwart, and forget the tenour of the Quen of Englandis lettre.

Sa ſchone as his Maieſte was aduertift of the arryuing of Sir Francis Walfingame, I was ſent for to com to court, and was directed to ryd and welcom him in his hynes name ; and to bear him company, and convoy him about be Stirling to Sant Jhonſtoun, wher his Maieſte thoct meteſt part to geue him preſens. Willing me alſo to ſay vnto him, that his Maieſte wes richt glaid of the commyng of ſic a notable perſonage, wha was knawen to be endewed with religion and wiſdome, and whom he eſtemed to be his gud frend ; being aſſured that his tedious trawell in his lang voyage, being diſeaſed as he was, tendit to ſome mair ſubſtanciall pointis, for the confirmation of the amytie between the Quen his ſiſter and him, then had bene perſourmed at any tym before.

The ſecretary Walfingame gaif me anſwer again, that the gret deſyre he had to eſtablif ane aſſured amytie between the twa princes and contrees, moued him to tak the embaffage in hand him ſelf ; his Maieſte being the prince in this world that he louit, nyxt vnto the Quen his meſtres, and wiſſit ratheſt to ſee and be acquainted with ; and hoped alſo that his commiſſion ſuld ſucceed the better, becauſe he met firſt with me, his auld frend and only acquaintance in Scotland. For we had bene compaignons in other contrees ; and dyuers tymes, when I was ſend or paſſing throw England, he wald haue me to loge and ly with him ſelf at Londoun, quhilk was cauſe that we had the mair famylier conference. Wherupon I wret tua ſeuerall lettres, that his Maieſte mycht be the better prouydit to mak anſwer vnto ſic headis as he

wald propone. Then we tok our journey throw Lithco to Stirling, and from that to Perth. He had hard that my Lordis Ceatoun and Li-uistoun wer wreten ynto to convoy him ; bot he requested me to stay them, that he mycht haue the mair conference be the way with me ; vtherwyse he wald be compellit to enterdeny the noblemen. It may be, that it wes also to let se his awen gret company ; for he had viii score horse in train. Being neir vnto the court, his Maieste send out twa of the consaill to meit him, to wit my L. of Down, and my brother Sir Robert.

The nyxt day, his Maieste gaif him audience, accompanied with mester Bowes ambassadour resident in Scotland. Ther first raifonyng was vpon his Maiesteis liberte, and wherfore he had left the company that wer about him, being the best and maist religious sort of his nobilite, and of her Maiesteis best acquaintance ; and by whom sche wald deall in his affaires mor frendly then sche culd do with others, whom P. 163. sche culd not sa weill credit ; with hard and schairp speaches confourm to his formair wretting. Wherunto his Maieste maid answer aff hand, sa grauely and directly that Walsingame wonderit. The nyxt day, his Maieste appointed four of the consaill and my self to be with him, to raifoun with him, and to se wherat he wald be. Bot he refused to deall with any bot with his Maieste, wha hard him again his allane, without mester Bowes ; wher he discourfit lang with his Maieste. And when he cam fourth from his Maieste, he tok me be the hand, and said he was the best content man that culd be ; for he had spoken with a notable yong prince, yngnorant of nothing, and of sa gret expectation, that he thocht his trauell weill bestowed.

The Erle of Arran desyred to enter in famylier conference with



him ; bot he refused to ſpeak with him, and maid na langer tary, bot tok his leaue at his Maieſte, wha commandit me till accompany him to the ferry. And at our departing from vther, he promyſed at all occaſions to wret vnto me, and lamented that the Erle of Arran was again in court, and in ſic credit with his Maieſte ; quhilk gene he had vnderſtand before he tok his journey, he wald haue ſtayed and ſufferit another to bene ſend. For he culd ſe na ſure courſe to be tane betwen ther Maieſteis, ſa lang as ſic instrumentis had greteſt credit about him. For he eſteamed the ſaid Erle a ſcorner of religion, a ſawer of diſcord, and a diſpyſer of trew and honeſt men ; and therfore he wald not ſpeak with him, nor enter in acquaintance ; for he was of a contrary naturell, religious, trew, and a louer of all honeſt men. Therefore Arran to be reuengit vpon him, ſpaired not to do a gret diſhonnour vnto his Maieſte. Firſt for diſpyt that he refused to ſpeak with him, he cauſed reſuſe to let the captens of Berwik, and dyuers honeſt gentilmen that cam to convoy the ſecretary Walingame, the entre of his Maieſtes chamber dur ; and then cauſed prepair ane ſcornfull preſent for him at his leaue taking, to wit a ring with a ſtain of criſtellin, in ſtead of a rich dyamont, quhilk his Maieſte had appointed for him, valuyng vij<sup>e</sup> crownis ; quhilk he was oftymes myndit to ſend bak again vnto his Maieſte, rather to let him ſe how he was abuſed, then how he was vſed. Some promyſe was alſo maid vnto him, anent the repairing of ſome wrangis done be Scottis men vpon the borders ; quhilk he allegit wes not kept ; for Arran did what he culd to diſpleaſe him, and to mak his commiſſion in all pointis vnproffitable, and his trauell to be in vain. Nevertheles he maid ſa gud report of his Maieſteis vertus and qualities, that it put him in ſome ſuſpition at his retournyng to the court of England ; wher ſchortly efter he tok ſeaknes and died.



My oppinion is, that gene God had granted him langer lyf, he wald haue bene fond a gret frend vnto his Maieſte ; wha maruelit that the cheif ſecretary of England, bourdinit with ſa many gret affaires, ſeakly and agit, fuld haue enterpryſed ſa painfull a voyage without any purpoſ. For he culd not yet perſaue what was his errand, ſaif only that he gaif his Maieſte a gud conſaill. Bot he being religious and of gud conſcience, was ſa deſyrous to ſe, and vnderſtand affuredly the lyk qualities to be in his Maieſte, as he hard oftymes  
P. 164. be report, that he retournit with gret contentement in his mynd for that part, bot very ſorowfull for the company that he fand in greteſt fauour and credit about his Maieſte ; vnloked for, he raifoun of a wretting that his Maieſte had ſend vnto the Quen his meſtres, promyſing not to bring in again to the court the ſaid Erle of Arran without hir aduyſe and conſent. For my part, I never ſaw ſic apperance of a prosperous eſtate, for his Maieſteis honour, ſurete, loue and obedience of his awen ſubiectis, increaſe of the number of his frendis in England, to the aduancement of his title, nether befor that tym nor ſen ſyn, gif the ſaid Arran had not bene brocht again to the court ; quhilk I left not on declaired to his Maieſte dyuers times, not without ſome parell.

Indeid his Maieſteis intention was, not that he fuld remain at court, bot only to com and kiſs his hand, and to retourn bak again to his houſe. He again being anes enterit, wan ſome of the lordis, whais particulaires he promyſed to ſet fordwart, ſa that they wald concur with him, and ſchaw his Maieſte how neceſſaire his preſens and abyding about him wald be ; and how that my gentill proceding wald wrak the K. and them all. Handling the matter ſa, that he remanit at court, and myndit to mak him ſelf and his aſſiſters riche, be the wrak and

spoilge of vthers, wha had tane his Maieſte at the Raid of Ruthven, and then he and they to gyd all at ther pleſour. Sa many of them as ſchot at particulair markis, ran a ſtrait courſe with him, becauſe they thocht to mend them ſelues be his credit, and fearit to tyn his Maieſteis fauour, incaice that Arran wer not ther frend. And ſome of them did what they culd to perſuad me to do the lyk, alleging that vtherwayes I wald be ſchut out. Quhilk cam till paſs ſchortly efter, becauſe I wald not geld, nor concure to caſt all lowſe, to the parell of his Maieſteis eſtait and reputation; remembring what was intendit, promyſed and proclaimed, at his Maieſteis paſſing to his liberte.

It is certane, that the lordis that maid that enterpryſe had gret occaſion geuen them to be miſcontent, bot na ſufficient cauſe to enuyroun or compell ther ſouerain prince, to remoue fra him them that he lyked ſa weall of. Quhilk rebellious proceeding compellit them alſo, for ther ſurete, to retean and withhald ther King as captyue. His Maieſte again being aduertit and admoniſſit, that the dangerous and ſuſpicious form of doing of the Duc of Lenox and Erle of Arran was able to breid diſordour, tok ouer litle cair to preuen the apperant inconveniſtis, and ouer litle deligence to get ſure intelligence and information therof, quhilk brocht him to that ſtrait of taking and keping. For it had bene leſs panes to haue tane gud tent in dew tym, how his contre was gouernit, then to put ordour or remedy therto efterwart. For it is na litle errour, to rendre the maiſt part of the nobilite and ſubiectis malcontentis, nor na gret wiſdome, efter that his Maieſte was in ther handis, to ſlip fra them without ther conſentis. The enterpryſers, aſſiſters and allowers of the dede, being ſa gret a nomber as culd not be ouertane bot be patience, nor puniſſit bot be ſubuerſion of the eſtait,

P. 165. and parelling of the prince his awen perfone. Yet it pleased God to gyd his Maieſte vnto his libertie, albeit with ſome parell ; with gret honour at the firſt, and with the vniuerſall contentement of all his ſubiectis, ſa ſchone as they vnderſtod his honeſt meanyng and gratioux deliberation, asweill be promyſe as be proclamation, as is alredy ſpecified.

I forget not at all occaſions, for my part, to remember his Maieſte, and refuſed the office of ſecretary, becauſe it was ſaid that na man ſuld want his office, benifice, landis, nor eſchait. And as is els mentionit, I opponit my ſelf againſt the Erle of Arran in plane conſaill, becauſe he had fourmed a proclamation againſt the lordis of the Raid of Ruthven, contraire to his Maieſteis formair new maid proclamation of grace and obliuion of all byganes. Therefore he lap out of the conſaill houſe, in a rage at me ; [*alleging the loue that I bure to the lordis wald wrak the K. and them all. I ſaid, the loue that he bure to ther landis wald do it*] and for diſpyt he maid a row of the names of ſa many as ſuld abyd and be vpon the preuy conſaill, and pat out my name. Lykwais he named ſa many of his dependers as ſuld ſerue in euery office, quhilk his Maieſte was myndit not to do without my aduyſe. This he cauſed his Maieſte ſubſcryue, aſſiſted be thre of the foirſaid lordis that tok plane part with him ; ſa I was ſchot to the dur, and had na mair place to do gud. His Maieſte gratiouſly excuſed the matter, and ſaid that the lordis had na will of twa brether, baith [*bot mean gentlemen*] to be vpon the conſaill ; bot when he ſuld get a wyf, I ſuld be hir confellour, and cheif about hir. Sa that gene they wer glaid to be quyt of my comber, I was as glaid to be fre fra ther miſfreull, not to be a partener with them, to the parelling of ther prince and wrak of his contre.



Yet his Maieſte aſſured me, that he ſuld paſs to Edenbrough, and convene ſic noblemen, barrons and vthers as I had named vnto his Maieſte, to the ſatteling of his eſtait and agreeing with his nobilite, conform to my wretting abonementioned. And that in the mean tym he tald me, that the Erle of Arran thocht meit to ſend in England the biſhop of St Androwes, alleging that he was paſſing to the well of the Spa, for recouery of his health ; wha paſſing throw England, ſuld haue commiſſion to deall with the Quen of England in his hynes affaires ; and incaice he fand her willing to entre frendly and frely with his Maieſte, he ſuld ſchaw hir that his Maieſte wald ſend me ther, to ſatiſfie hir mair ſufficiently in ſic thingis as ſche wald requyre ; and to that effect the ſaid biſhop ſuld ſend bak word be a gentilman, Capten Robert Meluill, wha paſt ther expreſſely for to be ſend bak with the ſaid answer. I was commandit to wret in the biſchops fauour ; bot he was ouer weall knawen in England. For Meſter Bowes, wha remanit lang in this contre, had informed them ſufficiently of the ſaid biſchopis qualites ; wha was diſdanit in England, and diſhonored his contre be borrowing of gold and pretioux fourringis fra the biſhop of Londoun and dyuers vthers, quhilk was never reſtored nor payed again.

His Maieſte nevertheles wald haue me to grant to gang in England, and to be in a redines ; and willit me to mak my awen inſtructions, alleging that I knew what was meateſt for him to requyre at that tym.

P. 166. I wald not tak vpon me to mak my awen inſtructions ; bot I ſaid that I ſuld pen the ſpeeches that I ſuld hald unto hir Maieſte, incaice that I paſt ther ; quhilk kynd of langage, in my oppinion, wald be meteſt for the tym to be vſed, and haldin be any man that ſuld be ſent to that

SIR JAMES MELVILLE

Quen. Quhilk his Maieſte, efter that he had ſean it, thoct very  
and conform to his awen meanyng.

HARRANGUE TO BE MAID VNTO THE QUEN OF ENGLAND.

“ Madame, albeit that your Maieſte be elis ſufficiently certified of the  
King my ſoueranis conformable mynd to ſatiſſie your hyenes, afweill  
be Sir Frances Walfingame your ſecretary, as be the biſchop of Sant-  
androwes his ambaffadour, granting to the ane his haill deſyres be  
mouth, and declaired be the other how ſtraitly he has obſerued be  
parfourmed the ſame in effect; mair to maife and content your mother-  
ly mynd, in ſchawing the takenes of a thankfull and obedient ſonne,  
then for any gret weall he ſeis ye ſeak therby to your ſelf. Sa that it  
is his Maieſteis intention yet ſtill, cheifly ſen he hes tane the ſteir and  
rudder in his awen hand, to ſchaw you ay the langer the mair, the  
parfyt fruitis of his hartly affection.

“ For now hauyng atteanit vnto ſome yeares of knowlege and dear  
bocht experience, (by that quhilk has bene oft beaten in his eares,) he  
is not ygnorant how that your hynes fauour and aſſiſtance mon be  
mair happy and helply for his aduancement, then can be any aid he  
may obtean at all the other princes of Europe. Your Maieſte being  
to him ſa dear a mother, and ſa neir a nybour; baith your ſubiectis  
ſeamyng to be bot a people; ſpecially ſen your prudent gouvernement  
began, quhilk has not only bene vtterit towardis your awen, bot alſo  
has extendit vnto the vtilite of vther gret kyngdomes; cheifly ouer  
ſchadowing this haill yland, to your hynes euerlaſting honour.

“For never in na princes dayes, hes bene sean sic rest, riches, and felicitie in England; and mycht lykwais haue bene in Scotland, gif the particularites of some of the subiectis had sufferit them till ensue your saige, charitable, and loving admonitions, as they ar presently sufficient motions to moue his Maiestie, whom the matter maist tuiched, to direct me towardis your hynes, efter rype deliberation, and vpon the sure grond of the gud information of sic as ar best inclynit, and haue maist experience, to seak the assistance quhilk he has sa oft sean sent vnto him, help and healthsome aduysse, wher he has sa oft found it, and salutary plaisters to be laid vnto the sores that yet daily breidis and arys in his realm, as restis of the canker and disfordour engendred during his minorite.

“Seing then the thing that he craues, is your accustomed kyndnes and confaill, quhilk because the strenth of your constancy will compell yow to continow towardis him, he is the mair hamely to sut the same, as maist seemly for his fibnes, aige and estait sa to do; perswading himself that sic frendly offices mycht be vsed betwen yow, as mycht tend to baith your contentementis, and weall of your kingdomes; quhilk for laik of sure intelligence of others inward myndis, be the secret and mutuell conference of deuotions and discret instrumentis, mycht vtherwayes turn to the contraire.

- . 167. “The King my maister knawes that amytie cannot stand vpon a fyd, bot mon be mutuell; and grantis that he has now greter neid of your help then ye of his in many thingis. Bot he thinkis him self as able, and is as willing to deserue fauour at your hand, as any that can contend with him for the same, or wald presume to found the falschious bell of succeffion in your eares. For his part, he requyres na instant

declaration therof, bot will continually craue, be his behanour, all sic preferrement, as ane humble sone aucht to seak at a louing and hartly mother. Because he esteemes that a word of your Maiesteis mouth, at a convenient tym, fall sufficiently serue his turn ; being yet yong anough till abyd any benefit it may pleise your Maieste prouyd for him ; acknowledging the prorogation of your yeares maist profitable to supplie his youth, confidering the necessite he has now of your assistance, in the rewling of this his present and                   estait, he esteames that he wald haue double ado with your help, gif ouer early he had any greater handling.

“ Therefore, Madame, he defyres yet bot hunting and pafetym, vntill he be of greter rypenes and maturitie ; wiffing in the mean tym vnto your Maieste ane lang lyf, a prosperous regne, and as gud successe in your proceedinges heirafter, as ye haue had hitherto ; that hauing sa hapely and sa honnorablely rewled in a maner baith the realmes, thir many yeares bygane, ye may be as able to leaue them sa iunit together in a cordiall and staible monarchie, as that the bliffit and parfyt end of your prudent proget may confirm and crown the worthynes of your reputation, in finiffing the wark quhilk many had sa oft in vain enterprysed ; as the only prince that euer obteanit the haill handling and hartis of all Britane without bluid.

“ The first empyre therof began and appropriate in your personne, sa plaifantly and peceably rewled in your tym, and sa iustly and rychteously distribut and left efter yow, not only to the worthyest, as did Allexander, bot also to the norest of your frendis and kinsfolkis, as did Ceasar, to avoid bludschedding then as of before ; lyk a kyndly mother to the King, the contre and commownweall, to the gret plea-



four of God, to the perpetuall prayse of your memory, and to the vni-  
verfell weill and felicitie of this haill ylland."

Gif the Quen of England culd haue credit his Maiesteis toward and  
modest inclination, as it was and is indede, sche mycht haue had ane  
assured frendship and concurrence of him for hir tym. Certainly his  
Maieste was euer myndit to haue kepit this kynd of frendly and discret  
correspondence with hir; for he was informed, how litle speid the Quen  
his mother cam, for suttin continowally to be declaired second persone  
of England; as may be seane in that quhilk I haue wreten of before,  
tuiching hir proceedingis with the Quen of England, wha will never  
grant to declaire a second persone bot be force and compulsion, quhilk  
has not lyen in the power of Scotland to do, during the riche and paif-  
able regne of this Quen. Yet faire and discret langage and behauour,  
gaif plaice and acces to his Maiesteis ambassadouris, to pass to and fra,  
to won frendis and get intelligence. [*This my oppinion was wreten*  
P. 168. *and set down      yeares before hir Maiesteis discease.*]

Now the Erle of Arran, persauyng that be na persuation he culd get  
his Maieste stayd on passing till Edenbrough, ther to conuene sic noble-  
men, barons, bourgeffes and ministers, meatest to satle his troublete ef-  
fait, be taking vp again and folowing fourth his formair gratioux in-  
tention and promyse, baith be proclamation and speaches vnto dyuers  
noblemen, barrons, and ministers;—the said erle seing that he mych.  
not directly stay that gud purpos, sa contraire to his pretences, he first  
maid his moyen to be maid chanceler, and then capten of the castell of  
Edenbrough; that be his gret offices, attour his credit with his Maieste,  
he mycht terrifie all sic as durst opon them selues to his courtes or pro-  
positions. Then he vsed his craft, to peruert and draw the effect of the



or pretenders to reform the estate, were so many and mychty as to make a party unto the king.

Because I was not yet come to the first day of the said convention, his Maieſte told me, that ſame nycht at my commyng, what was proceeded and voted at the first meeting, quhilk he beleued wald be to my gret contentement; willing me the nyxt day to be preſent. Bot I ſaid, that I was ſory from my hart for it that was there concluded, ſen it was in effect clean contrary to his intention, where he thoct to have ſettled his estate, to ſee it caſten looſe; and that the dyce was caſten, and the diſcution ſo increſſed, to the kindling up of new diſpayred enterpryſes, that the chance wald bear away the maieſty and victory. For they that were compelled to take remiſſions, wald think it to be their diſtate; and that their former ſecurities being altered, there was no more place left for any ſort of agreement.

9. His Maieſte tok this vnſauory ſayinge of myn, ſo contrair to the opinions of many, in ane euell part, and aſkit at me, gene I thoct not the Raid of Ruthven treſoun. I anſwerit, that I thoct it ſo indede; [*ay vntill*] bot ſen his Maieſte, wyſely and circumspectly, had not only him ſelf and his haill counſaill allowed it for gud ſervice, bot alſo had wreten it to the Queen of England, and had ſent his commiſſioners to the generall aſſemble, halden for the tyme in Edenbrough, willing the haill miniſters, at their retourning to their ordinary paroiſches, to cauſe the principall gentilmen of ilk ſchyre to ſubſcryue a ſignatour, or the copy, wherein the Raid of Ruthven was allowed for gud ſervice, and to be redy to defend the ſame.

I declared alſo unto his Maieſte, how that there was a common claufe contenit in all remiſſions, to wit, " Except the laying handis vpon the

Kingis persone ;" then what vnseurete they mycht haue be ther remissions, his Maieſte culd eaſely juge. His Maieſte anſwerit again, that ſendle or never has any remiſſion bene ſean broken ; and maruelit, what moued me to ſpeak and think vtherwayes then the reſt of the conſaill. I ſaid, gene I had alwayes ſpoken lyk the reſt, I had not bene put anes aff the conſaill be the Erle of Arran ; whais qualites I had of before deſcryued vnto his Maieſte, and what inconvenientis he was able to bring in with him, at his new entring again in court ; and requested his Maieſte, for his awen weall, to ſend him hame for a whyll to his awen houſe. For be his dealing, as I was infourmed, the concluſion of the convention was ſa drawen, quhilk mycht ſchortly bring on new diſpaired enterpryſes. His Maieſte ſaid, that I was in the wrang to the Erle of Arran, and that ther wald neuer be any ma enterpryſes. I affirmed that ther wald be continowally, ay and whill the lordis that wer put in diſpaire, mycht mend them ſelues, or find them ſelues in a bettir ſecurete. And ſaid mair ouer vnto his Maieſte, that the Erle of Arran wald yet again put his perſone and crown in parell. Sa that his Maieſte left me in ane anger ; and yet turnit about and ſperit, " wha ſall then remain about me, gif I put away the Erle of Arran ?" I ſaid, the Erles of Marche, Argyll, Eglington, Montroiſe, Marchall, Rothies, Huntly, and Crafford, with ſome miniſters and barrons that wer knawen not to be factious.

Bot ſa many of the noblemen and of ther frendis, as wer yet remaining within the contre, efter that they had hard of thir remiſſions, they layd ther headis together, and wan dyuers lordis that wer about his Maieſte to mak a new enterpryſe, and wer myndit to ſley the Erle of Arran, the crownell Stuart, and ſome vthers that wer about his Maieſte,



ther gretest ennemys, albeit it wer in his Maiesteis prefens; and that way to becom maisters again of the court. Wherof I not only was aduertist, be some that I had schawen plesour vnto; bot also they aduysed me to absent my self from court, for thre or four dayes, to eschew the first fury of the alteration; for the Erle of Arrans hattrent maid me to be weill lyked of be dyuers honest men. I again, to saif his Maieste from parell and dishonour, thocht it my dewty till aduertis him; willing him yet to fend hame the said erle. I can not tell what moued the Erle of Arran, bot he desyred me to supper with him that same nycht, quhilk I refused. The nyxt day again, he tok me be the hand before his Maieste, saying that I fuld dyn with him and schew me a frendly contenance in his Maiesteis prefens; for his Maieste had forbiddin him till offend me in any fort, as he wald retean his fauour. Gif he had gottin any word of my contrary oppinion to his, I can not tell, or that I had desyred him to be sent hame; bot ther was some apperance, be his behauour and passionat speaches vnto me schone efter, that I had schawen my oppinion vnto his Maieste; as men may juge, for leading me be the hand to dyn with him in his Maiesteis prefens, quhilk I culd not refuse to do.

Bot before we sat down to denner, he askit at me how all wald be. I again thocht meit to tell him all that I had sayd vnto his Maieste. "Then," said he, "ye wald place about him the Erle of Marche, wha is a fule, gydit be the lard of Cambo and Robert Seuez." I said, he behoued to be ane with the rest of the noblemen alredy named. He said, it fuld pass my power, or any mans, to cause him leaue his Maieste, so lang as he was in sic danger. I answerit, that the K. was in danger for na vther cause, bot because he was besyd him. I parfauit that he

had a gret mislyking of me in his hart, quhilk he bursted fourth efterwart, boisting to put me to the get, gif I fished any mair in his waters. I answerit, that it wald pas his power, gif I plesit to tary ; for I wald get ma honnest men to tak my part, then he wald get throtcutters to assit him. Sa schone as his Maieste hard of this langage, he fend his oncle the lard of Caprintown, to reprove him schairply ; wherupon he retired him to the castell of Edenbrough, wherof he wes laitly maid capten ; bot cam not neir his Maieste, vntill I behoued to pass hame and gaif him place. Quhilk I thocht his Maieste was content that I fuld do, to please him ; for his wyf cam daily to his Maieste, and said that her husband had tane displefour, thinking that his Maieste tok my part against him. When I tok my leaue, his Maieste said that he doutet not bot I wald com again when I was fend for ; quhilk I tok for asmekle as not till com again till I was sent for ; not being myndit to haue taried any langer, efter that the foirsaid convention was endit.

Now the Erle of Arran tryumphed, being Chanceler, and capten of the castellis of Edenbrough and Stirling. He maid the haill subiectis to trimble vnder him, and euery man dependit vpon him ; daily inventing and seaking out of new faltis against dyuers, for ther escheitis, landis, benefices, or to get budis ; vexing the haill wreters and lawers to mak fur his giftis and conkissis. And samany of the nobilite as wer in fear of ther estaitis fled, and vthers wer banissit. He schot directly at the lyf and landis of the Erle of Gowry ; for the oracles of the hyland had schawen unto his wyf that Gowry wald wrak, as sche allegit to some of her famyliers. Bot sche helpit fordwart that prophecie the best sche culd ; for Gowry had bene his first maister, and dispyted



his insolent pryde, oppression and misbehauour, planly in confaill, quhilk few vthers durst do. Therefore he hatted his persone, and louit his landis, quhilkis he obtenit at lenth. For Gowry had tane purpos, being compellit, to pass out of the contre with his Maiesteis fauour and lifcence; bot as he was making his preparations ouer langfomly and flawly in Dundee, (as he was ouer flaw of natour,) wher his schip was to resauue him, he was aduertist be some factioners, that the Erles of Angus, Mar and maister of Glames, had ane enterpryse to com out of Yreland hame, and tak the town and castell of Stirling; having intelligence with dyvers noblemen, and vthers ther frendis that war in the contre malcontentis; sa that they wer in hope to mak a party sufficient against the Erle of Arran. Quhilk moued the Erle of Gowry to stay, with intention to tak part with them, for the gret disdaine and dispyt that he had against the Erle of Arran.

Then ther was ane vniuersell discontentement in the contre for the tym, and ane gret bruit of an alteration. Wherupon the crownell Stuart wret a lettre vnto me, alleging be his Maiesteis commandement, othir to repair to court with deligence, or elis to send my oppinion in wret vnto his Maieste, what was lyk to fall out concernyng the gret rumour and bruitis of ane apperant alteration. At quhilk tym I was feak of a fever tercian or accels, that maid me vnable for trauell; the diseafe apperantly proceding of displeasour. Therefore I send my answer in wret, to schaw his Maieste, that ther was indede ane vniversell discontentement, with a gret bruit, not without apperance of a so-daine changement, for the misbehauour of sic as wer in court, and gret strait and dispaired estait of them that wer put at, being men of qualite actyue and experimented, and that in greter number then mycht

be ouertane ; as I had ſchawen his Maieſte of before, without reſpect of feid or fauour, bot ſemply for his hynes ſeruice ; preing his Maieſte yet again, to ſet fordwart his formair acceptable pretence, intendit at his firſt paſſing to Santandrowes, ſeing na vther affured courſe to ſatle his troubled eſtait. This kynd of langage was the better lyked of for the tym, becauſe of ſa many aduertifmentis that cam daly to his Maieſteis eares.

Thir bruitis and aduertifementis maid his Maieſte to be vpon his gardis, and to uſe moyen to get intelligence. Firſt ſome ſuſpition was tane vpon the lingering of the Erle of Gowry in Dundee. Alſo his Maieſte had ſome aduertifment, that he was not myndit to tak ſchip, bot to ſtay vpon the incommyng of the baniffit lordis, as ſaid is. His Maieſte alſo dreamed a dream, that he ſaw the Erle of Gowry tane, and brocht in priſoner before him be the crownell Stuart, ſa that his eſtait wes ſattelit he thocht therby. Quhilk wes trew in dede for that tym ; becauſe the lordis that had tane Stirling, ſa ſchone as they vnderſtode of the taking of the Erle of Gowry, fled incontinent fourth of Stirling, and again fourth of the contre ; beleuyng that the ſaid erle had bene tane willingly, ſupponyng his affection to be ſa gret vnto his Maieſte, as a neir kinsman com of the houſe of Angus, his mother being a naturall dochter of the ſaid houſe ; as alſo that he was never vpon the firſt deuyle of any enterpryſe, bot drawen therupon efterwart be the craftynes of vthers. Therefore his Maieſte had compaſſion vpon him and was not myndit to tak his lyf. Bot the Erle of Arran was myndit to tak his landis, quhilkis he deuydit efterwart with ſome others, to get ther votis and conſentis that he mycht be wrackit. At his death, being vpon the ſkaffald, he ſchew himſelf a deuot chriſtien,



and a resolut Romane, mekle regretted with many that wer present, and hard his graue harangue, and saw his constant end.

After his death, ther was quyetnes for a whyll, without apperance of lang continowance. During this litle whyll of faire wether, ther was a parlement halden, to forfait the baniffit lordis, at the instant desyre of sic as hoped to be the better be other mens wrak. Among others I was wreten for, and gratioufly refaut be his Maieste; wha remembrit vpon some of my speaches, and tok me allane vnto his cabinet, and inquyrit how I thocht then of all his proceedingis. I fayed, that he had gret cause to thank God, and na gud gyding; and that ther wald be yet ma enterpryses, and that they wha tok Stirling, and wer reterit again, wald never cese to mak enterpryse vpon enterpryse, ay vntill they mycht se themselues in a better secrete. His Maieste said, that they had won sa litle be ther last incommyng, that they wald never do the lyk foly again. I answerit, that wer not the taking of the Erle of Gowry, who they beleuit was tane be his awen devyce, to bewray ther enterpryse, they had obtenit ther intent; for euen some that wer vpon his Maiesteis awen fyd, wald haue junit with them, to put the Erle of Arran out; whom they affistid for aw, and not for loue, and wer beginning to enuy and hate his insolency, and culd not se a sure outgait how to stand be him, and had maid some secrete promyses to them be sic as past betwen. Bot seing the Erle of Gowry in handis, and the said lordis therby discouragit to fle away, samany as had maid the saidis promyses, tok vp a new deliberation, and schew themselues frackest in ther contraire.

2. The Lord Burly, cheif reuler in England at this tym, caused send in heir ane Mester Daufoun agent, to se what new busynes he culd

orew; wha was efterwart maid secretare. For efter the discese of Walsingame, secretary Cicill being advancit to be Lord Burly, and gret tresorer of England, twa secretaries wer chofen; ane callit Mester Smyth, and this Dauisoun, whais predeceffour was a Scotifman; wherby he was thocht to be mair able to conkis credit, and had bene heir in Scotland of before, and was at my house in company with Sir Hary Killigrew, my auld frend, when he was resident in Scotland. At quhilk tym, he maid a secret confession to me, that he was com of Scotifmen and was a Scotifman in his hart, and a fauorer of the Kingis richt and title to the crown of England; and willit me to kep all secret from Mester Killigrew, promysen gif he culd find the meanis to be employed heir, that he suld do gud offices.

His Maieste was for the tym at Facland, and wret for me to be directed to ryd and meit the said Dauisoun; whom I was commandit convoy to Couper, ther to remain vntill his Maieste had leafer to geue him audience; and efterwart convoyed him to my awen house, and from that to Facland, wher his Maieste fand bot litle effec in his comission. Bot because Mester Walsingame had refused, at his being heir, to speak with the Erle of Arran, albeit the said erle offred be me to content the said Walsingame in all his desyres, sa that he wald deall and conferre with him, quhilk Walsingame still refused. Bot Mester Dauisoun was directed, at this tym, to deall with the Erle of Arran, to se what vantage mycht be had at his hand; for my L. Burly was not content that Walsingame was sa precife. Therfore Dauisoun enterit hamely with him and was maid his goffup, and hard his frank offers and lyked weill of them. For efter that the lordis wer fled in England and forfalted, the confaill of England thocht they had some



ground wherby to build vp a new stark faction, to trouble the K. and his estait. And wheras the said Dauifoun had promysed of before to schaw himself a kyndly Scotifman, I parfaut him clean alterit, and a very practyfer against the quyetnes of this estait; quhilk I schew vnto his Maieste.

After his retournyng, England apperit not to tak sic a skar at the Erle of Arran as they had done; for ther was a meting drawn on at the borders, betwen the Erle of Hunsdane and the Erle of Arran; wha had lang and preuy conference togither, to kepe a gret frendfchip betwen the twa princes and contrees, with a secret complot, that the Erle of Arran fuld kepe the King on married for thre yeares. In sa doing, ther was a yong maid of the bluid in England that wald be about that tym redy for mariage, with the quhilk the Quen wald declaire his Maieste second persone, &c.

This was a disceatfull trafic, and kepit secret fra euery body, to hender the K. to deall for any other profitable and honnorable matche. The Erle of Arran thinking him self fatelit, being in frendfchip with the Quen of England as he supponit, moued his Maieste to send ther the Maister of Gray; wha was entrit in gret fauour and familierite with his Maieste, be some secret dealing and intelligence he had maid with the Quen his Maiesteis mother in England, be the meanis of some of hir frendis in France, he being ther; and was bot laitly com hame, and brocht with him some wretingis directed from hir Maieste to the King hir sonne; and convoyed the answers bak again, be a moyen that he had in England with some that fauorit hir Maieste; and was a gret dealer also betwen hir Maieste and some catholikis in England. For he was a propre gentilman, of a trim sprit and fair speach, and sa

weill lyked of be his Maieſte, that Arran thoct meit ſill abſent him from court be this ambaffade; nevertheles employed him alſo in his courſe begon betwen him and the Erle of Hunſlane, as ſaid is. And yet when he was at the court of England, ſa weill eſteemed and treit-ed, as was reported be ſic as wer ſent bak, it was allegit be ſome of the Maifter of Gray his frendis, that the Erle of Arran began till enuy him, and mak miſreport of him vnto his Maieſte, as thoch he had diſconerit vnto the Quen of England, a gud part of the Quen of Scotlandis purpoſes and procedingis.

Alwayes, the ſaid Maifter retourait again weall rewardit, and commendit for his behanour, qualites and diſcretion vnto the Kingis Maieſte, to the gret increaſe of his credit with the King. Not lang efter his hamecommyng, he was inſourmed what miſreport had bene maid of him in his abſence; quhilk he recompensit the beſt he culd with court charite, at ſic convenient tymes, that he pat Arran be litle and litle out of conceit.

The Maifter of Gray alſo foirwarnit his Maieſte of a notable perſonage that was vpon the way, ſent vnto his Maieſte be the Quen of England, to honour him and bear him company, and to enterteny a ſtraiter frendſchip betwen that Quen and him, nor had bene maid at any tym before; and that the ſaid ambaffadour, callit Meſter Wotton, wald not faſche his Maieſte with negocis nor contre affaires, bot with honeſt paſtym, be hunting, halking, and horſryding; and with frendly and mirry diſcourſes, as ane com laitly out of Italy and Spain, expert in langages and cuſtomes of contrees, and a gret louer of his Maieſteis richt and tytle to the crown of England. Sa that his Maieſte was rauiffit to loue him before his commyng, and cauſed wret for me to com with diligence, to enterteny the ſaid ambaffadour.



At my commyng to court, I was the better tane with, that Arran was a litle disgracit. The Maister of Gray was then my gret frend ; for his Maieſte had tald him, how that I had euer refiſted the Erle of Arrans furious procedingis. His Maieſte deſyred me, as I wald do him acceptable ſeruiſe, to bear gud company vnto the ſaid ambaffadour ; declaring vnto me all his properties and gud qualites abone ſpecified, willing me alſo to bancket him at my houſe. Bot efter I had hanted certane dayes with him, I remembrit that I had eyther ſean him or his brother of before in France, with his oncle doctour Witton, wha was ther ambaffadour reſident for Quen Mary of England, the tym that ſche was maried with King Philipe of Spane. During quhilk tym, ther wer gret gelouſies and ſuſpitions betwen France and England ; git ther was het warres betwen the Kingis of France and Spain ; bot the paice continowed ſtill with the Quen of England, wha was laitly married be the King of Spain. Sche ſeamed to kepe ſtill gud paice with France ; in the mean tym ſend ouer till Flanders baith men and money, to the help of the K. hir huſband. The auld Conſtable of France for the tym, wha had the haill handling of the contre affaires vnder K. Henry the ſecond, reprochit the Engliſ ambaffadour, for that the Quen his meſtres was doing what ſche culd to brek the paice. The ambaffadour excuſed his meſtres, alleging that gif any of her contre men ſeruit in the warres vnder the K. of Spaine, that they wald be found bot common wageours, redy to ſerue any man for money ; and denyed that ſche knew of ther paſſing in Flanders, or that ſche debourſit any filuer for the warres. Albeit, ther was cauſe and matter anough miniſtred vnto hir, be reſauing and retenyng in France all hir rebelles and fugitiues ; geving them penſions and enterternement, and ſtering them vp

with enterpryses against hir lyf and estat. This the Constable denyed platly ; only, he said, of a generall gud will that was born to all Englis men in tym of paice, they wer sufferit to lywe in the contre quhilk bure the name of France, wher ther fuld be fredome and franchise till euery chrestien.

The ambassadour being wyse and subtile, persauyng this answer to be bot a meating till his, and that wairres culd not faill to folow vpon this kind of supitious procedingis, he intendit be some subtilite to circonvene the Constable, and to that effec had send in England for his brother sone, yet yong of xxj yeares, asweill to employ him as to cause him se and learn the Ytalien and Frenche langage. This yong man being arryued in France, with ane Yreland boy to be his interpreter, wha culd speak French, baith in semple array, to be the les suspected to haue any practyse or policy in ther myndis, bot lyk a landuart yong man, addreffit him to some of the K. of France courtours, that he mycht haue audience of his Maieste in a quyet maner, as hauyng a matter of gret importance, till propon. The K. again, dyuers tymes directed him to deall first with the Constable. At last when he cam to the Constable, he desyred also at him that he mycht first declare vnto the K. his errand, quhilk was of a gret consequence. Howbeit he knew that the K. spak with na man in sic matters, vntill the Constable had taifted him first, and then tald his oppinion vnto the K., and how till mak answer. At lenth he said, he wald declare the matter vnto the Constable, vnder promyse of gret secrecie, causing the Constable be this nycenes to suspect some practyse ; and when he gaif him audience he desyred me to be present besyd him.

At ther meting quyetly in the Constables cabinet, his Yreland interpreter was put fourth, against his will as apperit ; bot he was sa instruct-



ed be the ambaffadour his oncle, to wfe fic landward and rud faffions ; yet again, or he began to propon his errand, he defyred fecrefie. The Conftable being ane auld wyfe experimented confellour, pat him a litle afyd and roundit in my ear, to wit gene I had fean this yong man at any tym of before. I anfwerit that I had fean him the day before, at lang conference with ane Mefter Sommer, fecretary to the Englis ambaffadour. Then the Conftablethocht that he fuld handle the matter weall enough ; for he geffit that all this nycenes proceedit from the ambaffadour, to trap him ; and calling the yong man, again defyred him to fchaw what he had to fay. Mefter Wotton began to declare the gret mifcontentement that was in England, not only for bringing in the prowde Spanyartis to reull ouer them, bot alfo for the alteration of religion maid be Quen Mary ; moving many to rebell, and others to remoue aff the contre ; wha neuertheles wer all weall refaut and traited be the Kingis Maieffe of France, wherby he had won the hartis of the thrid part of England fa deuotly towardis him, that they wald glaidly put the crown of England on his head, getting ouerficht in religion, to be quyt of the Spanniartis tirranny and terrible inquisition, quhilk was feared fuld be alfo eftabliffit in England. And for the firft proif of ther gud will and thankfulnes, a number of lordis and knyghtis, wha durft not wret, had fend him fecretly with ane ouerture and fure outgait, to put the ftrang town of Cales in his handis, with the haill erldome of Oye. At this the Conftable maid a ftart, and faid, "Knaue ye not, my frend, that ther is a fworn paice betwen your Quen and the King my maifter ?" The other replyes again, how that the Quen of England aydit fecretly with filuer and men the King of Spain hir husband, in his warres of Flanders againft France. Quhilk the Conftable allegit that fche denyed be

hir ambassadour ; bot willit him to tell out the rest of his commission. Then said he, " My L., the meanis how ye may get Calas, is this. First, the maist part of the town ar of the reformed religion and malcontentis, and hes refused to refaue a garnissoun of Spanyartis. All thir ar frendis to them that send me, and has intelligence with them. Then only the townschip kepes ther toun, making watche and ward without wageours, onskilfull to handle ther armes. Therefore the K. fall cause Mons' de Senarpon, his lieutenant in Normandye, to ly in ambuscad at sic a wod, within a myl and ane half to the town, at ane appoynted day. Then a schip, weill fourniffit with armed men, fall ly at a raid or anker half myll from the town. Some of thir, cloithed lyk marinellis, fall com a land, and haue swardis and pistolles vnder ther clais ; and fall await about tua efternoon, at quhilk tym the portis of the town ar oppenit to let men in and out. Part of the porters wilbe at ther dinner, when ane or tua will com before the leaue till open the gettis. The gettis being ceaset, let ane of the company schut aff a lang pistolle, that the schip may heir and schot a canon, till cause Mons' de Senarpon with his company com fordwart at the flycht speid ; and they that ar within the schip, to vse the lyk deligence to com fordwart. In the mean tym, ther salbe a mutenirie raised within the toun be our frendis and parteners, sa that the town salbe obtenit without straik." Efter that the Constable had hard all this lang discours, he said that it was very lykly, and douted not bot it mycht be easely done. Bot in respect of the sworn paice, the K. his maister wald not, nor fuld never haue his confell nor consent to brek the paice ; bot is far obligit to the noblemen that beares him sa gud will. And as for him that has tane sic panes, the K. fuld reward him ; willing me to remember to cause geue



filuer to the yong gentilman. Sa he wan nathing at the Conftables handis, and cam never again to feak his reward ; but was efterwart manifefly knawen to be brother fone to doctour Wotton, ambaffadour as faid is.

This is he now that was fend in heir, to bear his Maiefte company, as ane that will not medle with practyfes, bot with paftymes. Bot when I foirwarnit his Maiefte to be war of him, and tald how that he, being litle abone twenty year auld, he was employed to begyll the auld wyfe Conftable ; now he was fyfty yeares, and his Maiefte bot twenty, it was to be feared that he ga about to begyll him. Yet his Maiefte wald not beleue me, bot thocht gret loue and frendfchip to be born to him be the faid Mefter Wotton, wha becam ane of his Maiefteis maift famylier mignons, and waited on at all feild paftymes, and difpyfed all bufy confellouris and medlers in matters of eftait, as he was instructed be fic as faid he wald pleife his Maiefte beft to feam to be fa, and to vfe fic langage. Bot he had ma hurtfull fetchis in his head againft his Maiefte, then any Englis man that cam in heir had at any tym of before, alwayes for the feruice of his princefs and contrey, according as the courfe of ther affaires and pretences preffit them for the tym.

176. Ye haue hard of before of a meting that was drawen on at the Borders, betwen the Erles of Hunsdaine and Arran ; wher at ther fecret conference, Arran was requyred be the craft of the [Englis confail] Lord Burley and his faction, to ftay the King from any mariage for thre yeares, vpon many faire fengzeit promyfes, and alfo to be declaired fecond perfonne ; at quhilk tym again, Arran granted all that was defyred, he was fa glad to get the Quen of Englandis frendfchip. About this tym, the Quen of England, be hir intelligence from Denmark, was

aduertift of a gret and magnifik ambaflade fend be the King of Denmark in Scotland ; thre ambafladours, with a fexfcore of perfones, in twa braue fchippis. Whither fche fufpected, or had hard that it was to draw on a mariage, I can not tell ; bot this far I learnit, that hir confaill fearit, that it was at leaft to confirm a greter familiarite and frendfchip between the tua Kingis and ther contrees ; quhilk was ane of the caufes that moued them to fend in Scotland this Mefter Wotton, to vfe all his wyles to difturb and hender any greter amytie that mycht fucceed, be the faid commiffion and negotiation, between the twa Kingis and ther contrees. For England lippenit nathing to the Erle of Arrans promyfes ; for they efteamed him of a flichteren, inconfant capacite, as is alredy declaired.

Sa fchone as the Dence ambafladours arryuit be fchip in this contre, his Maiefte ordonit me to enterteny them, and to bear them company ; and becaufe they wer thre junit in a commiffion, willit me to chufe any vther twa, that I thocht meteft, to bear them company with me ; and I named vnto his Maiefte the lard of Segy ane of the Seffion, and Willyem Schaw mefter of Wark. Ther names wer, Manderupius

Henrych Bello, and doctour Theophilus ; the firft twa wer confellours.

Firft, at Domfermeling they congratulat his Maiefte in the K. ther mafters name, with a lang difcours of the auld amytie, band and mutuall frendfchip between the twa kingis and ther kingdommes. And laft of all, they requyred the ylles of Orkeney to be reftored again to the crown of Denmark, allegit be them to ly in wedfet, to be redemed again for the fowm of fifty thowfand florins.

Ther commyng and demandis was dyuerfly fkancit vpon ; fome fup-



poning warres fuld enfew, onles the faidis ylls wer not renderit ; others thoct that ther intentions was, to bring on a mariage with the King of Denmarkis dochter.

Now albeit his Maieſte was determinit to trait them weill and honorably, they wer nevertheles mishandled, ruffeled, triffelit, drifted, and delayed heir the ſpace of                      monethes, to ther gret charges and miſcontentement. For they lyued vpon ther awen expenſis, and wer not deffrayed be his Maieſte, as all other ambaffadouris of that nation hes bene ſen ſyn.

When they wer apponted to part out of Domfermeling towardis S<sup>t</sup> Androwes, ther to get ther diſpatche, his Maieſte ordonit to tell them that he fuld ſend them horſe out of the court to ryd vpon. The day of ther parting being com, they ſend away ther bagage and officers before them, and wer buted them ſelues, tareing lang vpon his Maieſteis horſe ; quhilk becauſe they cam not in dew tyme, they tok ther journey fordwart vpon fut.

P. 177. His Maieſte was very miſcontent, when he vnderſtod how they wer handled, and cauſed his horſe to folow faſt efter them and ouertak them. Then at ther being in Santandrowes, dyuers appointed dayes of conſaill and convention wer broken vnto them, quhilkis wer promyſed to be keped for ther diſpaſche, quhilk they futed continowally for to get. Then men wer appointed to ſkorn them at ther logingis, and before ther windowes, when they lokod out to the ſtreit ; ſa that nathing wes left ondone that mycht annoye them, or kendle them vp in choler. Only Meſter Wotton the Engliſ ambaffadour veſited them oft, and bur them gud company, and confortod them at all occaſions, ſeamyng to be ſory that they wer ſa miſufed ; and offerit to lend them

gold and filuer largely, for the gret frendſchip that he knew to be betwen the Quen his meſtres and the King of Denmark. For he was afſured of gud payement, and thocht to conkis credit at ther handis, be his apperant frendly deling. At lenth, vnder gret ſecret, he ſaid he wald not hyd from them, how that he had hard the K. ſpeak diſdanfull langage of ther contre and cuſtomes; and alſo that ſome of his gentilmen had hard the K. ſpeak euell of ther K., as com of the race of merchandis; and that he and his conſaill wer myndit to hald them lang heir, without any diſpaſche, to faſche and tyre them.

Then again the ſaid ambaffadour, and twa of his gentilmen, in-fourmed his Maieſte of ther hard ſpeeches of the reprochefull dealing of the K. and conſaill towardis ther maifter, and alſo of ther rud manners, doildnes and dronkenefs; and wer fortified and affited be fic as wer about his Maieſte, wha held the lyk ſcornfull langage of the K. of Denmark, his contré and ambaffadours; moving his Maieſte to mak the les accompt of them. Wherby they wer ſterit vp in fic a rage, as I had na litle a do to perſwad them in the contrary, and to ſtay them from ſtealing away tua ſeuerall tymes to ther ſchippis, to haue returnit to ther King without any farther anſwer, and to report of the gret lichtly and diſdane and injury quhilk they ſaid planly wes done vnto ther K. and contre. For the Erle of Arran was alſo ther ennemy, becauſe they maid na court vnto him, whom dyuers of ther company had knawen to haue bene laityly in Sweden as a foldiour. Sa that he wes als redy as the reſt to mok and ſkorn them, albeit the ringleaders for the tym wer complotted togither with the Engliſh ambaffadour againſt him.

The principall of the thre ambaffadouris was a wyſe, graue and an-

cien confellour. Henrich Bello wes furious in his speaches ; and the doctour cryed out, " the K. our mester is injured and wilbe reuengit."

Then I tok Manderupius apart, and requested him to heir me patiently, for he spak gud Dutche, bot myn wes not sa gud, therefore that he wald tak better tent to my meanyng, nor till any wrang word ; and mair cair to cause his frendly commiffion tak effect, that he mycht retourn hame with the happy succes therof, then till start and steall away, to be called vnhappy instrumentis of discord, at the pleasour of a few scornfull factioners, that had layed ther headis together to cause them part malcontentis, and to be als euell instrumentis, as they wer myndit at ther incommyng to do gud offices.

P. 178. I tald him, how that the Quenis Maieste of England was a wyfe, weall inclynit and politik princes, and that ther wer asmany honest and gud men in England, as in any samekle boundis of the haill warld ; albeit ther was in it dyuers oppinions and factions, schutting at findry markis, as they do in all other partis. And because that ther Quen wald never mary, to bear succeffion of hir awen body, they all tak gret cair to wit wha sall regne ouer them efter hir. " The maift part of the contre lukis that it salbe our K., and wiffes his weallfaire and prosperite, as being richtous air to the crown of England be baith his fathers fyd as be his mothers fyd. Bot sa many as haue the speciall gyding of the court, schut at other particulair markis of ther awen, mynding to set fordwart some of them selues or of ther frendis, to bruik the kingdome ; and for that cause, they mak all the hender they can till our King. Also because of ther on mercifull dealing with the Quen his mother, they fearit some day to be puniffit, when he salbe King of England. For all thir respectis, they practyse to kepe him from ma-

riage, and from all forren frendſhip and alliance. And that this ſame ambaffadour of England is a very euell inſtrument ; baith him ſelf, his gentilmen, hunting daily with his Maieſte, makis the worſt reportis they can."

The ambaffadour of Denmark anſwerit to that, marveling that Meſter Wotton ſuld mak ſic report of them, offering them ſa gret frendſhip, and geving them dayly intelligence how they wer bot ſcornit and mockit, baith be the K. and his conſaill, to his gret regret ; and offres to len them ſiluer, with all other pleſour that lyes in his power. I ſaid, he knew weall enough that he wald get gud payement and gret thankis ; for he eſteamed the King of Denmark a worthy prince, and his ambaffadouris worthy to be honored. Bot the gyders of the court of England deſyres not that our King ſuld think or eſteam ſa of them ; wiſſing him to haue bot few frendis and many ennemys. Then I afſured him, that the Kingis Maieſte and haill ſubiectis, (except ſome that wer corrupted be England,) wer determinit to interteny and increaſe a contynowall frendſhip with the K. and contre of Denmark ; preing ther wiſdomes curagiouſly to reſiſt, and not febly and fuliſchly to geue plaice, be ther way paſſing, vnto the ſaidis crafty practyſes of ther ſcornfull envyers, in ſuffering them ſelues ſchamfully to be maid euell inſtrumentis, directly againſt ther awen intention and commiſſion ; and they ſuld ſchortly ſe gud ſucces to folow therupon to ther contentement. Promyſen vnto them, for my part, that I ſuld paſs instantly vnto his Maieſte, and with all hazard that mycht com, ſuld diſcouer vnto the Kingis Maieſte, how baith he and they wer diſceatfully abuſed be the double dealing of the Engliſ ambaffadour, and ſic Scotiſmen as aſſiſted him.

9. Vpon this discours and promyse, they went to consaill all thre together, as ther custome was; and efter lang conference, gaif me answer, that ther commyng was for to do gud offices, and albeit they had sufferit findre injuries, they wald be fory to be maid instrumentis of discord, sa far against ther commiffion and intention; and therefore wald stay yet, vpon hope of better handling, and vpon my promyse, albeit to that hour few or nane had bene kepit vnto them, as they allegit.

Efter this, I schew vnto his Maieste how that inconvenientis mycht ensue, vpon the lang delaying and frembd handling of the Dence ambassadours. And yet that I maruelit not that he maid sa little accompt of them, in respect of the gret cair and fyn practyses, that wer vsed to cast them and him findre, be the Englis ambassadour and others his affistors that had his Maiesteis ear for the tym. At the first his Maieste was impatient to heir this langage spoken of personages that he had sa gud lyking of; and said, that he was informed, that the K. of Denmark was com bot of marchandis, and that few maid accompt of him or his contre, bot sic as spak the Dutch tong. For this was preteley put in his head, to preuent lest any of my persuations in ther fauour shuld get place or credit. I answerit, that the K. of France, nor Quen of England, culd not speake Dutche, and yet they maid gret accompt of the K. and contre of Denmark; France having ther ambassadour ordinair lying ther, and paying yearly to the K. of Denmark a gret sown of gold, to the valow of 16 or 20 thowland crownis. His Maieste said, the mair schame was his. I said, rather to the K. of France, wha mon bye his kyndnes. Nether culd the Quen of England, said I, speake Dutch; yet sche maid mekle accompt of the K. and con-

tre of Denmark, and durst not offend him nor nane of his schippis, baith be raifoun of the strait passage at Elsfoun vre, and also had gret schippis to tak amendis, incaice fche did him or any of his wrang. Then his Maieſte ſaid, that he ſpak bot be way of raifonyng. I ſaid again, be way of wrang infourmation ; and ſaid mairouer, that “ wher it has bene reported vnto your Maieſte of the race of thir kingis, not to be of noble and royall bluid, I fall ſchaw your Maieſte that it is bot manifest inventions to cauſe yow diſpyſe them ; and that this late K. Frederik is diſcendit of an auld and royall ſtok, [*bot I will paſſe na farther therintill*] to wit Criſtiarnus of Denmark the firſt of that name, wha had tua ſonnes, and ane dochter callit Margaret, married in Scotland to K. James the thrid. His eldeſt ſone Jhon was king efter him ; his ſecond ſonne Frederik was K. of Noroway and Duk of Holſtein. Jhon had a ſonne callit Chriſtiarnus the ſecond, alſo K. of Denmark, wha married the emperour Charles the fyftis fiſter, wha bure him tua dochters only. The eldeſt was geuen in mariage to Frederik Electour Palatin ; the ſecond to the Duc of Mylan, and efterwart being a widow, married the Duc of Lorrain. Him ſelf was tane and keped in priſoun be his ſubiectis, for ſome rigorous execution vpon his barrons ; and his father brother Frederik was maid K. Efter this Frederik, the Erle of Altenbourg was choſen, be the aſſiſtance of the toun of Lubek ; bot Chriſtianus the 3., ſone to the ſaid Frederik, pat him out and conkift the kingdome. Neuertheles this Chriſtianus, being a gud prince, wald not chenge ther auld preueleges, bot cauſed him ſelf to be choſen ; and lykwais his ſone Frederik in his tym to regne efter him, now preſent K., and wha hes ſend this honnorable ambaffade to your Maieſte, as to his gud frend and kinfman, diſcendit of the kingly race of Denmark.

And wheras he requyres again the ylles of Orkeney, for the discharge of his aith, becaufe euery King of Denmark at his election, that is ane of the articles that is presented vnto hym be the estaitis to fwer, to clame again the saidis yles ; quhilk he hes done for the fassion, and till na vther effect bot to draw on a gretter famyliarite and frendship, or elis he had not send sa honnorable a company, bot rather a harrauld of armes, gif he had bene ernesly bent other to get the sayd yllis, or to discord and feicht for them."

Efter that his Maieste had hard this discours, far different to his formair, he was exceding glaid, and said he wald not for his head bot that I had schawen and declaired this verite vnto him ; and that same efternun send for the saidis ambassadouris, and schew them how fib he was to the King of Denmark ; and excused ther lang delay, and promysed to se them instantly dispaſched him self, and that within thre dayes or four ; and send for his efternun and drank to them, and send them to ther logingis weill content and satisfied ; and commandit a bankit to be prepared for them, quhilk his Maiesteis controllour and officers wer forbidden quyety to do, and allege the skantnes of thingis. Bot the lard of Segy and I delt with the Erle of Marche, wha prepared a gret banket to them in his Maiesteis name ; to the gret discontentement of Mester Wotton and his practifiens, wha durst not kyeth, bot wald not suffer his Maieste to be present at the banket, bot to dyn in his awen chamber. Yet his Maieste being infourmed be me how thingis wer vsed, raise from his awen denner, and past to the banket houle, and drank to the K. the Quen and ambassadours of Denmark ; and sa contented them ay the langer the better, and caused ther dispaſch to be in a redines conform to his promyse. Bot when I aduertist his Maieste

that ther was na present preparit for to reward them withall, he was maruélous fory, and sayed they wald schame him that had the handling of his affaires.

Now at this tym was the Erle of Arran at court, not sa gret in fauour as he was wont to be. During the quhilk tym ther chancit a racles misfreull to fall out, at a day of meting betwen the twa wardens vpon the Borders, wher Sir Francis Ruffell vpon the Englis fynd was slain. Wherupon the Englis ambassadour tok occasion to lay the wyet vpon the Erle of Arran ; alleging that the lard of Fernihest, wha was wardane vpon the Scotis fynd, had married the Erle of Arrans brother dochter, and that the said erle had caused the slauchter to be maid, that the Borders mycht brek. Wher the said ambassadour was weill affited be the Mester of Gray and his marrowes ; sa that the Erle of Arran was  
P. 181. commandit till ward within the castell of Santandrowes, and kepit straitly thre or four dayes. Sa that being in fear of his lyf, he send for the crownell Stuart, the lard of Segy and me, and lamented vnto us his hard handling ; purging himself, as he mycht justly do, of that accident that fell out vpon the Borders, and requested ~~us~~ to procure for his liberte. Also he declairit vnto us a secret, to be schawen vnto his Maieste, incaice his lyf wer tane fra him ; quhilk was of a promyse maid vnto the Quen of England, that the K. fuld not mary with any party for the spaice of thre yeares, wherof I haue maid some mention of before. Neuertheles he forget not to trauell for him self, for he send his brother Sir Willyem to the Mester of Gray at midnycht, and promysed to get vnto him the abbey of Donfermeling, sa that he wald obtean his liberte at his Maiesteis hand. Quhilk was granted incontinent, and also the said benefice disponit vnto the said Maister ; wherat



the Englis ambassadour was in a mayn raige at the Maister. Bot ther discord was efterwart agreed be Meister Jhon Maitland secretaire and the Justice Clark ; and the Erle of Arran was ordonit to reteir him hame to his housé. Bot before his hame passing, his Maieſte was infourmed to deſyre him with all poſſible deligence, to lend him a great chengnge, that he had gottin of befoir from Sir James of Balfour, quhilk weyed a vij<sup>c</sup> and fifty corowns, to be geuen vnto the Dence ambassadouris ; quhilk gene he had refuſed he wald haue tint the K., and in delyuering of it he fuld tyn the chengnge.

In the mean tyme, the ambassadouris vnderſtanding that ther diſpaſche was in a redines, tok ther leaue fra his Maieſte, wha was alſo redy to part out of Santandrowes. I infourmed his Maieſte not to delyuer them ther diſpaſche, becauſe the cheingnge was not yet com ; for they wer myndit incontinent to mak faill, in reſpect of ther lang tary, and that the winter ſeaſoun was at hand. Albeit, I had ſchawen to ane of ther familiar ſaruandis, that certane rewardis wer to com ther within tua dayes ; preing them to ſtay that lang among the reſt. Quhilk they wald not grant to do, bot paſt to ther ſchippis, wher I ſaid I fuld bring vnto them ther wretingis and diſpaſche ; quhilk I requested his Maieſte to cauſe delyuer vnto my handis, to be kept vntill the cheingnge cam, quhilk was deuysit in thre partis, for it was belliffent. When I cam to ther ſchippis, they wer going to ſupper ; quhilk being done, I delyueret vnto them ther anſwer in wret, with ther chengngis, and ſome excuſes for ther lang tary and litle reward, alwayes to ther gret contentement ; affuring me that they fuld be gud instrumentis of amytie, albeit be euell vſing they wer anes myndit to do otherwayes ; and that ther commiſſion tended not to discord, bot to bring on greter friend-

fchip. Nether war they commandit to ſpeak of mariage, wherof ther was a wain bruit ; thoch the K. ther maifter had fayre dochters, any of the quhilkis being futed, as is requiſit that gentilwemen be, they ſupponit the clame of Orkeney fuld ga rycht. Thanking me for the gud offices I had done, wher in ſtaying them to part in diſpleaſour, the twa contrees wer preferued from hait warres ; quhilk they fuld not fail to declare vnto the K. ther maifter, with whom they fuld not fail to mak my acquante ; not dowting bot the K. my meſter wald ſome day ſay, that I had done him gud ſeruice. Sa I tok my leaue, efter that I had rewardit the gonners, trompetis and taboringis.

P. 182. At my retournyng to the court, I ſchew vnto his Maieſte how that the Dence ambaffadouris had maid fail to ther awen contre weall ſatiſfied, and of all other ſpeeches that was betwen them and me at ther parting. Whervpon his Maieſte tok occaſion ſchortly efter to ſend in Denmark, offering that commiſſion firſt vnto me ; quhilk I ſhifted me of, perſauing ſic as had his Maieſteis ear and maiſt credit, contrary to his mariage, and ſtill vpon ane courſe with England ; and named Meſter Peter Yong, meſter almowſſer to his Maieſte, to be very meit for that errand. Wha was ſend in Denmark, to thank that K. and to ſe his dochters, that he mycht mak report again of his lyking of them ; with a promyſe that his Maieſte fuld ſend ther or it wer lang ane honnorable ambaffade.

The Erle of Arran being ſent hame, as ſaid is, the Engliſ ambaffadour and his Scotis frendis, as the Meſter of Gray, the ſecretary Maitland and Juſtice Clark, had the cheif credit and handling of his Maieſteis affaires. The ſaid ambaffadour had conkiſſit ſic fauour, and famylier acces about his Maieſte at all tymes, and at hunting, that he was



vpon ane enterpryse to haue brocht in secretly the baniffit lordis, to haue fallen down vpon ther knees in the park of Stirling before his Maieste, at sic a tym as they fuld haue sa many frendis in court as that his Maieste fuld haue remanit in ther handis, as maist mesters of the court for the tym. Bot this enterpryse failed him, for they durst not yet tak sic hazard as till com in, till they mycht lay ther platis mair substanciouly.

Then the said Englis ambassadour enterprysed, to transport his Maieste out of the park of Stirling into England; and sailgeing therof, his Maieste to be reteanit be force within the castell of Stirling, wher companyes of men wer send for to be ther at ane appointed day. Wherof the secretary Mester Jhon Maitland gaif some intelligence vnto my brother Sir Robert, wha tald it incontinent vnto the Kingis Maieste, and the names of some of the principall enterprysers. And because it cam to ane of ther eares that affirmed stoutly the contrair, wherupon my said brother forfit to mantean the same be the offer of a singulair combat; quhilk his Maieste wald not suffer, because the personage grantit it vnto his Maieste. Wherupon my said brother perswadit his Maieste, with gret difficulte, to depart out of Stirling for ten or xv dayes, and hunt at Kincarn, before that the enterpryse mycht be rype; quhilk sa schone as the said ambassadour vnderstode, he fled in gret fear and haist, without gud nycht or leaue taking at his Maieste; weill instructed and fournissit with the promyses of sic as had assited him in our court, to persuad the noblemen that wer baniffit in England to com hame, wher they fuld find frendis anew before them in court, to put his Maieste in ther handis as of before. The Mester of Gray also absented him self, and past to Donkell, and ther remanit with the Erle

of Athell. And vpon some bruitis of enterpryses, ther was a proclamation fet out in his Maiesteis name be sic as had his ear, to conkis the  
P. 183. mair credit to be trew and cairfull confellours for his Maiesteis secrete ; quhilk proclamation was efterwart drifted be craft, that the baniffis [lordis] mycht prevene the day, and com in and get the K. in ther handis, wherby they mycht discharge the proclamation at ther plesour.

In the mean tyme, I resauit a wretting to be at his Maieste with all possible deligence, and another wretting from the Erle of Arran, to accompany him from Kinneill to the court. Bot I past vnto his Maieste, wher the said Erle of Arran cam also that same nycht ; for he had procured that he mycht retourn again to court, and remain about his Maieste. At my commyng to Stirling, I gat intelligence, from a secret frend, how that the said lordis were alredy at the entre of the borders, affistit be my Lord Hammiltoun, my L. Maxwell, my L. Bodouell, my L. Hume, and findre others that wer not junit with them of before ; also the Erle of Athell, the lard of Tullibarden, Bacleuch, Sesford, Codownknowes, Domlanerik, and others that wer in greteft credit about his Maieste, to concure with them at ther incommyng. Wherof I aduertist his Maieste and the crownell Stuart ; wha tok in hand to ryd vnto the borders, and ouerthrow them befor that ther haill forces suld meit together ; quhilk was a licly purpos, gene the matter had not bene craftely disaponted be sic as wer about his Maieste, wha seamed to set fordwart the crownellis enterpryse, to please his Maieste and to conkis credit ; saying they suld send missyues vnto Kowdonknowes, Bacleuch, Sesford and sic others, to affist with him, whom they knew to be vpon the contrary faction alredy. Sa that the said apperant enterpryse was turnit to na purpos, and his Maieste mocked. And because I had



ſchawen ſome of them what aduertifmentis I had gottin, and how that his Maieſte was lyk to be ſtraited with a new taking, I was anſwerit with ſcornfull langage. And incontinent they cauſed his Maieſte to ſend me a fenggeid errand to Donkell, that they mycht the better bring ther purpoſ to paſs without any gainſaing. The coulour of my commiſſion was, to cauſe the Erle of Athell byd at hame, and not to jun with the lordis that wer to com ſchortly to Stirling; and be the way to delyuer a lettre to the balgeis of Sant Jhonſtoun, to be vpon ther gardis, and not to ſuffer any of the Kingis ennemys to com within ther toun. The balgeis inquyred at me, what gif the Erle of Athell and Meſter of Gray wald defyre to com within ther toun. I ſaid they mycht let them ſelues enter, with ten in company, bot na ma. They allegit that ther lettre ſpecified not that far. I ſchew them how that was committed to me be mouth; the concluſion of my lettre willing them to credit me. When I cam to Donkell, I knew that the Erle of Athell wald not ſtay for me; wha had a thouſand men in a redines to tak the toun of Sant Jonſtoun, and to com forduart to Stirling, togither with the Meſter of Gray wha was yet with him. Bot I ſchew him that the crownell Stuart was riden with forcis, to deffait the lordis at ther entring in the contre, before they mycht be junit togither; therefore he wald do weill to ly at hame, vntill he mycht vnderſtand the yſſue of the ſaid cronelis enterpryſe. Gif that tok effect, it wer foly to him till marche forduart; and gene it tok na effect, he mycht do as his hart ſerued him. He thoct this conſaill gud; willing me to wret vnto his Maieſte for a liſſence to him and his to remain at hame fra the proclamation, quhilk I did.

In the mean tyme, the Meſter of Gray wes ſent for to the court; the

P. 184. portis of the toun of Perth being refused to his men, wha wer com out of Angus to assist him. At his retournyng to court, he was alle gret with his Maieſte as euer he was, and remanit within the castell of Stirling with his Maieſte; wher ther wer twa factions that kythed them felues, ſa ſchone as they ſaw the malcontentis and baniffit lordis draw neir vnto the toun of Stirling; wher they cam to the number of thre thouſand, and entrit into the toun without ſtop. For his Maieſte inclynit maiſt to the faction that brocht in the ſaidis lordis; wha aduyſed his Maieſte to ſend ſome of them down to the toun, to commown and comon matters. Quhilk was agreed vpon at lenth, that his Maieſte ſuld remain in ther handis, and na rygour to be vſed vnto them that wer about him; ſa that they wha paſt betwen mycht appear to be gud instrumentis, and ſtayers of bludſcheding. For Arran was eſchaiped and fled at ther firſt entre; bot the crownell Stuart only with ten or tuelf, gaif them ſic a charge in the midis of the narrow part of the toun, that a litle mair help mycht haue put them in gret diſordour; for the maiſt part of ther ſouthland men and borderers wer bufy ſpoilgeing horſe and geir.

The lordis, when they cam to his Maieſteis preſens, fat down vpon ther knees, humbly craving pardone, for that ther hard handling be Arran and vther partiall perſones about his Maieſte had compellit them, vpon plane neceſſite and for ther laſt refuge, to tak the baldnes to com in armes for the ſauete of ther lyues and landis; alwayes humbly myndit to ſerue and obey his Maieſte.

The King again, lyk a prince full [of] curage and magnanimite, ſpak vnto them pertly and boiſtingly, as thoch he had bene victorious ouer tuem, calling them traitours, and ther enterpryſe plane trefoun. Yet,

saïd he, in respect of ther necessite, and in hope of ther gud behauour in tymes commyng, he fuld remit ther faltis ; and the rather because they had vsed na vengeance nor crewelte at ther incommyng.

In the mean tym, his Maïeste committed and recommendit the keping of the Erles of Montroise and Crafford, vnto my L. Hammiltoun ; and the keping of the crownell Stuart, vnto my L. Maxuell. Thir thre wer in some danger for a whyll, because they wer esteamed to haue tane ouer stark part with the Erle of Arran in his particulaires. The rest of his Maïesteis seruandis wer ouersean and spaired. Sir Robert my brother, and his sone, wer baith courteously vsed. This moderat behauour of the lordis conkift daly mair and mair of his Maïesteis fauour ; preffing his Maïeste in nathing bot be the humble intercession of sic as had his Maïesteis ear of before. A parlement was proclaimed at Lithco for ther restitution ; to the quhilk part his Maïeste was conveyed, ther to pass his tym at hunting, and to recreat his spritis.

Many noblemen and vthers wer wreten for, to com vnto the saïd parlement ; amang the rest the Erle of Athell, to whom I had bene sent and was with him at the lordis incommyng to Stirling ; wher I was tareing vpon ane answer from his Maïeste, quhilk the Erle of Athell had willit me desyre be wret, as saïd is.

1586. When I cam to kifs his Maïesteis hand, I was glaidly maid welcom ; his Maïeste alleging that I wes corbe messenger. I saïd, that my absens with the Erle of Atholl had saued all my horse and the toun of Sant Jhonstoun vntane ; and had kepit bak the saïd Erle from assifting with the rest. Sa that gene they that remanit at Stirling with him, had kepit the south fyd asweill and als fre as I keped the north fyd, ther horse had bene saif asweill as myn was.

Then his Maieſte ſaid, that God had turnit all for the beſt ; being of before nuriflit in ane oppinion, that his lyf wald be in danger, incaice that thir noblemen mycht be his meſter ; and now having him and all his ſaruandis in ther power, they had vſed na rygour nor reuenge. His hynes remembrit alſo, how oft I had foirwarnit him of this and ſic vther accidentis, that I ſaid wald fall out vpon the Erle of Arrans rafche proceedingis ; and ſaid, that he had bene ane euell inſtrument, ſa that he ſuld never haue place nor credit again about him ; willing me to abyd at court, and help to do all gud offices betwen him and his nobilite, and to tell them the treuth, wha had the wyet of ther trouble, and that he had gret hurt and na vantage therby ; as a prince that ſocht na mans lyf, landis nor geir, bot only the ſatteling of his ſubiectis amang them ſelues, and his paſetym, quhilk certainly I mycht juſtly teſtifie. His Maieſte tald me alſo, that he had ſchawen vnto the noblemen, my honeſt and frendly aduyſes towardis them ; and how that I oponit my ſelf continowally to the Erle of Arrans proceedingis. He willit me alſo to help to ſatiſfie the miniſters, ſeaking alſo to be reſtored vnto ther formair fre aſſemblees, quhilkis had bene forbidden in tyme of the Erle of Arran.

Sa that I taried a whyll beſyd his Maieſte vntill matters tok ſome ſtedfaſt ſatteling. Dyuers of the lordis alſo requested me to tary and offerit me gret kyndnes ; ſaying that his Maieſte had tald them euery mans part and behauour towardis ther baniſſement and perſecution ; and how I was euer vpon a moderat courſe, and deſyred ane law of obliuion to be maid for all bygains during his minorite. The ſaidis lordis therefore cauſed me propone ſome of ther ſuttis vnto his Maieſte, whom they wald not preſs by his pleaſour in nathing. But the con-



faill was in dyuers oppinions concernyng the restoring of the minifters to ther formair preueleges ; wher I was brocht in to fay my oppinion. The maift part thocht meit to delay them for a tym, cheifly sic as had remanit about his Maiefte, and had laid ouer far to the contrair of before. My oppinion was, that his Maiefte had na wyet that the noblemen wer baniffit, nor yet that the minifters preueleges wer tane fra them ; bot all tha infolences wer done be sic euell instrumentis as dominit ouer his Maiefteis gud mynd and ear, throw the vehemency of ther ambition ; wha now being fled and abfent, why fuld not the minifters be restored to ther formair preueleges, afweill as the noblemen to ther landis and honnours, or elis the blame wilbe laid vpon his Maiefte. The fecretair for the tym was againft this oppinion, for he had fome tymes fpoken ouer far in the contraire : bot the rest of the noblemen and confaill thocht my oppinion beft. Bot it was not folowed then, nor granted at that parlement ; bot fchortly efterwart, the minifters obtenit at his Maiefte all ther formair preueleges.

36. It is mentionit alredy, how that Mefter Almouffer was fent in Denmark ; and fchortly efter him, the crownell Stuart tok occafion to pafs ther for his awen adois ; for he had ane penfion of the K. of Denmark. He obtenit alfo fome wreting, wherby he had matter to fpeak of the Kingis mariage with the K. of Denmarkis eldeft dochter ; and they baith returnit with fa gud and frendly anfwers, that ther was litle mair mention maid of the reftitution of the ylles of Orkeney. The K. of Denmark was alfo put in hope be them, that his Maiefte fuld fend the nyxt fommer ane honnorable ambaffade in Denmark, to deall farther in tha matters.

I haue schawen already of the dangerous practyses of the Englis ambassadour Melier Wotton, and of a part of ther effectis, but the principall is yet behind. The counsaill of England having counsaillit to tak the lyf from the Quenis Maiestie, his lynes mother, efter she had bene many yeares keppe captiue in England, thocht first to get the King hir son in ther handis ; and to put him in hope that he shuld get the kingdome of England, the rather that he was within ther centre. In the mean tyme, to be sure that he shuld not be able to reuenge his mothers deade, and to be as a plege among them, incaise that his countreymen, or his farren and Frenche frendis, wald pretend to menace them, or to make warre for his liberte or for hir death ; that they mycht boist again to cut him off, gif for his cause they shuld be troublit. And however it wer, with tyme it was suspected that they intendit to tak his lyf also, efter that they had layed ther platis how till make him odious to the people, he falsly counterfitt lettres, and allegit practyses, (as they had craftely and disceitfully allegit vpon his mother,) against the estat. Bot seeing this practyse of his careing in England to haue bene discouert by my brothers intelligence, the said ambassadour fled, as said is ; and for the nyxt best, thocht meit to se his Maiestie put in the handis of the maist part of his nobilitie, wha wer banisshit for the tyme, and be wicked instrumentis so wracked and offendit, that it was enough to haue caused them tak his lyf, or els kepit him in perpetuell prisoun.

Bot the noblemen that had bene banisshit, and wer send hame out of England, for that intention vpon Englandis part, vsed them selues so moderatly and discretly for ther part, that they socht nathing bot ther awen natyue contre and landis ; that they mycht haue acces to serue and obey ther prince, without any farther vengeance or rygour against



ther particulair ennemys ; as all ther actions and proceedingis haue sufficiently declaired sen syn, to the gret increafe of ther fauour with his Maieſte, and eſtymation of the haill contre. It hes bene fendle ſean in any contre, ſa many gret alterations to be maid, as hes bene in Scotland laityly in this Kingis tym, with ſa litle bludſhedding.

Now they that wer ennemys to our Quen and Kingis tytly to the rycht of the crown of England, ſeing ſome of ther fetches to faill them, entrit in deliberation what way to proceed in the taking of the Quenis lyf. Sometymes they myndit to geue hir ane Italien poſſet ;  
187. ſometymes to ſley hir at the hunting in ane park ; bot at lenth, be the way of ane aſſiſe, to conwick hir. Wherin they wer weill helpit be the deuyce of Meſter Archebald Douglas and ſome vther Scottifmen, that maid hir intelligence to conkiſ credit ; ſa that writingis and chifſers paſt betwen hir and them, and betwen hir and ſome catholikis of England that fauorit hir. Sa that be tymes lettres wer forgit, and other mens handwretis conterfeit ; wherunto ſche making ſome anſwers, anent ſome outgaitis for hir liberte, thir trikiſ of ther awen deuyces wer interpret againſt hir for treſoun. Then hir Maieſte had a Frenche ſecretaire, callit M. Naw, wha was eaſely corrupted to diſcouer all hir Maieſteis intelligences and doingis ; wha was richely rewardit be my L. Bourliſ moyen, and was na vther wayes tormented to tell the verite.

All thir callomnies and falſe accuſations being preſented in wret vnto the Quen of England, hir hart wald not ſuffer hir, as ſche allegit, to let any ſentence be geuen fourth againſt the Quen, hir dear ſiſter and cuſines, ſa neir of hir royall blud ; vntill the conſaill, nobilite and eſtaitis, at leaſt ſic as wer ſeducit to that effect, ſat down vpon ther knees, humbly requeſting hir Maieſte to haue compaſſion vpon ther vnſure



P. 188. taitis, in a voice, cryed out in a gret rage, to set fordwart, and promysed that they fuld all hazard ther lyues, and spend ther gudis and geir largely to that effect, and to get a mendis of that vnkyndly and vnlawfull mourther. Quhilk pat the confaill of England in gret fear for a whyll; bot some of our contre men comforted them, and sa did some Englis that hanted our court, alleging it wald be schone forget. Others said that the bluid was alredy fallen from his Maiesteis hart, and gif it wer not, they fuld cause the matter fall out sa to ther contentement.

First when the Kingis Maieste hard, that they wer about till accuse and convict the Quen his mother, he send Sir Robert my brother and the Mester of Gray, to deall for hir Maieste. Wher my said brother spak braue and stout langage to the confaill of England; sa that the Quen hir self boisted him of his lyf, and efterwart had bene retenit captiue, wer not the credit that his collig had, and the promyses that he had maid, wherby they wer baith sufferit to com hame together.

A four monethes of before, his Maieste caused wret for me to be send in England, to confirm a band of alliance offensywe and deffensywe with the Quen and Crown of England, and to tak the Quen of Englands aith for obseruyng of the said band, and Mester Randolphe wha was heir alredy, to tak the Kingis aith, and vse the lyk ceremony heir. At my commyng to court, I did what I could to be schifted of the said commission, being a matter of sa gret consequence as ane indirect breking of the band with France. Yet his Maieste wald tak na excuse, bot thocht meit to send me ther, that I mycht get him fur knowlege of findre thingis, quhilk his Maieste supponit another wald not get, be raifoun that all his mothers frendis and his awen that wer in that court and contre, wer best and langeft acquainted with my brether and me.

Bot sa schone as Mester Randolphe had hard that I was to be send in England, he desyred audience of his Maieste, and vsed all the persuasions he culd to get me stayd, and another send that mycht be found meter for the tym. Efter that his Maieste had raifonit lang with him theranent, he callit vpon me, and tald me how that Mester Randolphe had spoken sa mekle gud of me, whom he loued better then any Scotis subiect for our auld acquaintance ; bot said, that I wald not be acceptable to the Quen his mestres at this tym, becaufe Sir Robert my brother had bene alwais, and was yet vtterly vpon hir faction ; and also that my brother Sir Andro of Garvok, was for the tym in England hir Maiesteis maister houshald. His Maieste said, he replyed again that I was never esteamed a factioner, and wald not yeild at the first ; bot I requested his Maieste to grant him his desyre as then ; for I had na will of that commiffion, knawing that ther was nathing merit bot fraudfull dealing be England with him at that tym. “ It is for that cause,” said he, “ that I wald haue you ther.” “ And it is for that cause, fir,” said I, “ that I wald fayn eschew the same, with your hynes fauour.” His Maieste said, that he maruelit that Randolphe suld seam to lyk sa weill of me, and yet desyre another to be send. I schew his Maieste again, how that in France and in Italy we lyked other very weill ; bot in the handling of his Maiesteis affaires, we schot at findre markis. His Maieste wald still haue me to tak that commiffion, and askit whom I beleuit that Mester Randolphe wald wis to be send. I answerit, other the Mester of Gray, or elis Mester Archebald Douglas. For the Mester of Gray had maid moyen for Mester Archebald, and had brocht him hame out of England, and had semond ane affise of his awen frendis, to cleange him of the lait Kingis mourther ; and being cleangit, he hanted in court famylierly with his Maieste.



It was he indeid that Mester Randolphe defyred to be fend, or the Mester of Gray, or baith in a commiffion ; bot his Maieſte wald not conſent therto. Then the lard of Cowdownknowes, capten of the caſtell of Edenbrough, defyred the commiffion. Bot Mester Randolphe wald haue nane other ; cauſing the Quen his meſtreſs wret bak, that it was not neidfull to fend any ambaffadour for that errand at that tym ; only that the K. wald wret with his awen hand, that ane ſuld be fend when ſche thocht tym, affuring be his ſaid lettre, that it was in effect alredy concludit in his mynd, as gene the ceremonie wer perfourmed. Quhilk lettre was fend to the Engliſ ambaffadour, that was reſident in France for the tym, to be producit before the K. of France and Quen Mother, to let them knaw, that albeit the K. of Scotland was futton hir Maieſte for ane alliance offenſywe and deffenſywe, quhilk wald be a novation and a breking of the auld band with France, yet ſche wald not put them in ſuſpition and gelouſie of hir, in conſenting therto, as caring litle for the Scotis Kingis ſickill frendſchip or fead, ſa lang as France and ſche kepit ther paice and frendſchip togither. Quhilk was done only to diſgrace and diſcredit the K. with the K. of France ; ſa that ther procedit na mair fruitis of the ſaid intendit band, and I glaid to tary at hame. Lykwais when the bruit was of the Spaniſh navy, in the 1587, to com in thir partis, I was ordonit to be ſent in Spain ; quhilk voyage I happely alſo eſchewed.

Now to retourn again to Mester Archebald Douglas. He retournit bak to England to remain ambaffadour ther for his Maieſte ; be the quhilk meanis he obtenit the greter credit with the Quen his Maieſteis mother. Bot my brother Sir Robert, when he was fend ther to procure, and to uſe ſchairp and boiſting langage, to ſe gif that mycht ſaif

the Quenis lyf, he difchargit Mefter Archebald of the office of ambafadour. This is a parentefis be the way, to fchaw how far a gud K. hes bene abufed, and led be myngnons that he lyked weall of, to his Maiefteis gret hurt and difhonnour.

P. 190. In this mean tym, for fome difordour vpon the weft borders between the Maxuelis and Jhonftons, his Maiefte paft ther to refourm ther difobedience. Bot fome houfes wer kepit, and wald not rendre vnto his Maiefte. Wherupon Mefter Jhon Maitland being maid chanceler, the Mefter of Gray and vthers fauourers of the Englis faction, confellit his Maiefte to fend to Berwick, becaufe it was allegit to be nereft, to borrow canons to befeige the faid houfis. Quhilk gons wer glaidly lent be the governour of Berwik ; quhilk apperantly he durft not haue done without knowlege and confent of the Quen and confaill, wha thocht therby that his Maiefte had forget the gret boift that was maid at the foirnamed parlement, anent the reuenge of his mothers dead. For his Maiefte, efter he had rypely confiderit the beft and worft of that dede, remembrit him felf of the many frendis he had in England, wha had na wyet of his mothers wrak ; and for a few nomber that gydit the court and Quen, he wald not trouble the eftait of the haill contre, wherof he was apperant ayre. And alfo becaufe the Quen was of gud yeares, not able to lyue ouer lang, he wald abyd his tym to be reuengit vpon his ennemys. As for the Quen his gud fifter, fche had fworn and purgit hir felf of the death of his mother ; being difceaued be hir confaill, and be the fecretary Dauiffoun, whom fche committed to be wardit in the tour of Londown. This was the convoy of that vnkouth, vnkyndly mourther.

Schortly efter this, ther was a gret bruit of the Spanifh navy, boun

of ther stamped instructions at euery apponted landing place. Many ar of oppinion, that they wer first disaponted be the Duc of Parma, gouernour of Flanders; wha had behaued him felf in his charge fa circumspecky, in his promyses fa trewly, in his enterpryses fa stoutly, that he wan the hartis of his soldiours, and the fauour of his ennemyes, that he was suspected to vsurp the estait of Flanders be the K. of Spane, and therefore was myndit to remoue him out of that gret and riche gouernement. He being miscontent, as was allegit, nother four-niffit the said army vituallis, nor affistid them with schippis and men nor sufferit them to land in his boundis. At least they tok fa gret suspicion of him, that they landed not; bot wer lyen at ancre, when Mester Draikis be a strategeme subtilly deuysed of a schip full of poudre with a bournyng lont, quhilk kendlit vp the poudre fa schone as the English schip was dryuen be a direct vehement wynd within the midis of the part wher the Spanish schippis lay; bournyng therby dyuers of ther gret schips, and causing the rest to cut the cordis of ther ancrs, for haist to eschew the fury of the fyre. Wher in the mean tym God send sic a strange storm of wynd, that the haill navy wer blawen and broken vpon dyuers coists of our yles, and of Yreland, and ther wrak was the greter that they wanted ther anckres.

It is specified of before, how that Mester Peter Yong, mester almofer to his Maieste, and the crownell Stuart, wer retournit from Denmark, weill rewardit and contented with euery thing that they had fean, and cheifly with the fair yong princeffis; and also how they had put the K. of Denmark in hope, that the Kingis Maieste our maister fuld in the nyxt fomer send ther ane honnorable ambassade, to deall farther to the increafe of a greter societie and amytie. And for this effect, the



## SIR JAMES MELVILLE'S MEMOIRS

in Faerland with his Maieſte, cam to my houſe to perſuade me to tak a commiſſion in hand, quhilk he ſaid his Maieſte wald lay to my charge; quhilk was, to be ſend vnto the K. of Navarre, and to be acquainted with Madame the princeſſ his ſiſter. And becauſe his Maieſte knew that I wald be laith to gang, he named alſo my L. of Tangland my brother; wha tok the voyage in hand, and maid gud acquaintance with the ſaid princeſſ, and was weill traited and rewardit be the K. hir brother, now King of France, and brocht with him the picture of the princeſſ, with a gud report of hir rare qualites.

The Lord of Barnbarrow and Meſter Peter Yong being retournit bak from Denmark, declaired how that the K. of Denmark thocht na thing of ther commiſſion bot fecles dealing, and dryuyng of tym, and faire langage without any power to conclud. I am incertane whither he gat intelligence of his Maieſte ſending my brother to the King of Navar; bot the marieing of his eldeſt dochter ſa ſhortly efter with the Duc of Brinſfwik, geues ſome apperance that he had gottin ſome intelligence therof from the court of England, wha wer weill enough informed of all our proceedingis.

Efter this, the crownell Stuart being willing to ſe the mariage with the K. of Denmarkis dochter tak effect, paſt ther vpon his awen charges dyuers tymes; and ſeing the eldeſt dochter alreedy married, he excuſed the K. Maieſte, and layed the blame vpon them that had the handling of his affaires. Sa that the K. of Denmark promyſed yet to geue his ſecond dochter vnto the K., with condition that ambaffadours ſuld be ſend ther the nyxt year before the firſt day of May. In the mean tym, the K. of Denmark tok feaknes and departed this lyf, leaving the ſame commiſſion with his counſaill, and ſic as wer appointed for regentis of the realm.

Now the Kingis Maiesteis mariage being futed of findre gret princes, and his ambaffadours being com bak, baith out of Denmark and Navarre, with the pictures of the yong princeſſes, his Maieſte determinit firſt to ſeak conſaill at God, be his ernest prayer, to addreſs him wher it wald be meteſt, and the weall of him ſelf and his contre. Sa that efter fyften dayes aduyſement and deuot prayer, as ſaid is, he callit his conſaill together in his cabinet, and tald them how that he had bene aduyſen and praying vnto God, the ſpace of fyften dayes, to moue his hart the way that was meteſt, and that he was reſoluit to mary in Denmark. The conſaill apperit all to be content of his reſolution, requyring meat inſtrumentis to be employed to conclud the mariage and to mak the contract. Then his Maieſte ſaid, that he had alrede choſen me in his mynd for ane, willing the conſaill to name another ; quhilk they did, to wit my L. of Attry, the Erle Marchallis oncle.

We twa being wreten for and com to court, fand not ſic ernestnes with the conſaill as with the King ; quhilk my L. of Attry perſaving, drew hame again, excuſing him ſelf vpon his age and ſeaklynes. His Maieſte vſed many perſuaſions and raifouns to cauſe me tak the voyage in hand ; declairing how that he had many tymes ſend for me to be employed in ambaffaddis, and culd not tell what was the cauſe that I went not. I anſwerit, that his Maieſte wald haue done me that honour abone my deſeruyngis, quhilk he wald not haue done gif he had knawen my vnablenes and infufficieny, afweill as I did my ſelf. His Maieſte ſaid, that this his mariage was the greteſt matter that euer he had ado, and culd tak na reſuſe. I ſaid that my Lord of Tungland my brother was far meiter nor my ſelf, being a gud ſcollair, and culd perſyfly ſpeak the Latin, hy Dutche, the Flemyn and the Frence tong.

Bot his Maieſte wald repoſe ſtill vpon me in that erand, bot was content that my ſaid brother ſuld paſs in commiſſion with me.

Then his Maieſte ſaid, “ albeit the conſaill will form your inſtructions, ye ſall reſaue myn out of my awen mouth. Thre headis in ſpeciall. The firſt, gif the K. of Denmark had, at the pleaſour of God, bene alywe vntill this tym, he wald not haue ſtand to geue a gret tocher with his dochter, wherin the regentis and conſaill wilbe als ſpairing as they can. I dout not therefore bot ye will draw out of them ſamekle as may be had ; bot at lenth, ſtand not for filuer to paſs fordwart with the concluſion of the mariage. The ſecond head is, to knaw what frendſchip and aſſiſtance they will mak me, when it may pleaſe God to place me be richt in the kingdome of England, be diſceſe of this Quen, incaice any contre men or vthers wald wrangeouſly pretend till vſurp and debar me fra the ſame. Thridly, concernyng the ylles of Orkeney, ye mon chuſe any man of law that ye pleaſe ; for that head mon be anſwerit and delaited be form of law. Alwais, gif the mariage tak effect, that purpoſ will not be ouer preciſly futed nor handled. It may be that my conſaill will geue yow ſtraiter conditions, bot this inſtruction of myn ye ſall folow fourth, let them ſay what they pleaſe.” When I ſchew his Maieſte that I wald tak with me, for man of law, Meſter Jhon Skein, his Maieſte thocht then that ther wer many better lawyers. I ſaid, that he was beſt acquainted with the conditions of the Germanes, and culd mak them lang harrangues in Latin, and was a gud trew ſtout man, lyk a Dutche man. Then his Maieſte was content that he ſuld ga ther with me.

P. 194. Efter this I taried lang at court, and culd ſe na preparation for our diſpaſche, nother ther filuer nor ſchip maid redy ; and the apponted tym

that we fuld haue bene in Denmark was past, to wit before the first day of May. For it was ordonit sa be the K. of Denmark or he died, that incaice that day was not kepit, that they wald think them selues bot fhouffit. Quhilk moued me the mair to employ my frendis in court to cause another be named in my place, feing sa many futting for to get the said commiffion. The chanceler gaif me sic terrous as he culd for his part. Now the Erle Marchall had defyred to fupple the place of his oncle my L. of Attry, and his Maiefte was content that he fuld be fend ther. Wherupon I tok occaſion to ſay vnto his Maieſte, that the ſaid erle was very meit, and wald ga the better contented, gif he mycht haue in commiffion with him ſome of his awen frendis and acquaintance. His Maieſteis anſwer was, that it was his part to cheiſe his awen ambaffadouris, and that the Erle Marchall fuld haue the firſt plaice as a nobleman, bot that he wald repoife the cheif handling with the regentis and conſaill of Denmark vpon me. Then I declaired how that the apponted tym was paſt, and that ther was na apperance of any preparation of ſchip or filuer ; wherat his Maieſte was very angry. And when I named the lard of Barnbarrow, or Meſter Peter Yong, wha had bene ther before, his Maieſte wald not ; for the blame and wyet was wrangeouſly laid vpon ther vnſufficiency and miſhandling, that matters tok not the defyred ſucces of before.

Wald not this kynd of court handling ſkar any man to be a medler in ſic weichty matters, wher ſic men ar preferrit, and the haill bourding of the princes affaires committed to ther cair and credit ? Wha conſellit his Maieſte to fend firſt to the Quen of England, and requyre hir conſent and aduſe to the ſaid mariage with Denmark ; wha they knew wald not only diſſwad his Maieſte from the ſaid mariage, bot

also stay him fra any mariage, as sche and hir confaill had euer done and delt, baith with his mother and him self. When I vnderftod of this new delay, I obteanit lifcence to pafs hame to my houle, and mak me redy vpon the nyxt warnyng. In the mean tym, the feafoun of the year was weall fpent. The Quen of Englandis anfwer was, not to mary in Denmark. Sche had credit with K. and princes of Navarre, quhilk wald be far better. In the mean tym, sche wret to the K. of Navarre to hald bak the mariage of his fifter for thre yeares, for sic friuoll respectis as caried na raifoun.

Vpon this anfwer of England, our confaill wer convenit, and prati-  
kit and intyfed to vot, as the maiſt part of them did, againſt the ma-  
riage of Denmark. Wherat his Maieſte tok ſic a diſpyt, as that he cauſed  
ane of his maiſt famylier ſeruandis deall ſecretly with ſome of the dea-  
kens of the craftiſmen of Edenbrough, to mak a maner of a mutinerie  
againſt the chanceler and confaill; boiſting to ſlay the ſaid chanceler,  
incaice the mariage with the K. of Denmarkis dochter wer hendrit or  
any langer delayed. This boiſting and fear cauſed a new reſolution to  
be tane, that the Erle Marchall ſuld be diſpaſſched with diligence, and  
the conſtable of Dundee and my L. Andrew Keith, whom the ſaid erle  
P. 195. requested his Maieſte to ſend with him. Quhilk his Maieſte granted  
the mair eaſely, becauſe he fand ſa many difficultes in this matter, and  
ſome of my frendis had ſchawen vnto him, that I wald not be miſcon-  
tent that he ſent with the ſaid erle ſic as he deſyred.

Now it wes yet a lang tym, before the Erle Marchall culd be maid  
redy and diſpaſſched. Then at his dealing with the confaill of Den-  
mark, his power to conclud wes ſa limitat, and his commiſſion ſa ſklen-  
der, that he wes compellit to ſend bak again my Lord Dinguall, other



for a liscence to com hame, or for a sufficient power to conclud. Wher it chancit that he fand his Maieſte at Aberdene, and the chanceler and maiſt part of the conſaill abſent; quhilk was a gret furtherance to get a full power, to conclud the contract and ceremonie of the mariage be the Erle Marchall; wha was incontinent diſpaſched be the regentis and conſaill of Denmark, and the Quen ſend hame with him weill accompanied. Bot the tempeſteous wyndis drawe them vpon the coift of Nouroway, wher they landit and ſtayed a lang tym vpon fair wind and wether. Quhilk ſtorm of wind was allegit to haue bene raifed be the witches of Denmark, be the confeſſion of findre of them, when they wer brunt for that cauſe. It that moued them, they ſaid, was a kuff or a blaw quhilk the admyrall of Denmark gaue to ane of the bailzeis of Copenhoun; whais wyf conſulting with hir aſſociatis in that art, raifed the ſaid ſtorm, to be reuengit vpon the ſaid admyrall.

His Maieſte had hard that they wer vpon the ſee, and left nathing ondone to mak all in a redines to reſaue the Quen and hir company honorably; bot in the mean tym, was very impatient and ſorowfull for hir lang delay, laying the blame vpon the chanceler, and ſic others of his conſaill as had planly voted againſt the ſaid mariage, and had delayed the diſpaſche of the ambaffadouris ſa lang, vntill the ſeaſoun of ſealling vpon tha fees was neir paſt. The ſtormes wer alſo ſa gret heir, that ane boit periffit betwen Brunteland and Leith, wherin was a gentilwoman callit Jene Kenete, wha had bene lang in England with the Quen his Maieſteis mother and was ſen ſyn married vpon my brother the maiſter houſhald to hir Maieſte, Sir Andro Meluille of Garvok. Quhilk gentilwoman being diſcret and graue, was ſent for be his Maieſte, to be about the Quen his bedfallow. Sche being willing to mak

deligence, wald not stay, for the storm, to fail the ferry ; wher the vehement storm draue a schip forceably vpon the said boit, and drownit the gentilwoman and all the personnes except twa. This the Scotis witches confessit vnto his Maieste to haue done. Wher I tint also tua faruandis.

Now his Maieste remanit quyetly in the castell of Craigmyllair, not content with the maist part of his counsaill, as said is, and culd not sleip nor rest. In the mean tyme, he directed the crownell Stuart to my brother Sir Robert and me, charging us to tak cair of his mishandled estat in tyme commyng ; lamenting how that he was abused be sic as he had ouer mekle reposed vpon, and that he had alwayes found us faithfull and cairfull for his wealfaire ; willing us to sit down, and aduise how he mycht best put remedy to thingis past, and eschew sic inconvenientis in tymes commyng ; for he was determinit heirefter to reposit maist vpon our counsaill.

P. 196. Our answer vnto his Maieste was, that we had gret cause till render his Maieste maist humble thankis for the gud oppinion that he had of us, quhilk we fuld tak panes at our power till deserue ; and wer very fory for the displefoure that his hyenes had tane ; preing his Maieste that he wald tak patience, and as that he had alwayes reposed vpon his God, and not vpon men, that the same God wald mend his estat, as he had oft tymes done before. Presently our only cair fuld be, how to refaue honorably the Quen, wha was vpon the sea, we daly looking for hir landing ; and nyxt, how to trait and reward the noblemen of Denmark, hir hynes convoy. That being done and they returnit bak to ther contre, it wald be best tyme to tak ordour with the affaires of the kingdome, conform to his Maiesteis desyre, with the concurrence



of ſa many of the counſaill as his Maieſte had found maiſt faithfull and leaſt factious.

Bot to tak vpon us the haille bourthen, we thocht it not beſt ; in reſpect that has bene alwayes the cheif cauſe of the wrack of Scotis kingis, ſpecially of all his troubles, in laying the haille bourthen of his affaires vpon any ane or twa ; wha maiſt commownly, for gredines and ambition, abuſes gud princes ; then few or nane dar controill them, for fear of ther gret autorite and credit.

The chanceler being advertiſt of his Maieſteis miſcontentement and diſpleſour, as ſaid is, maid his preparatyue till part off the contre ; and cauſed it to com vnto his Maieſteis eares, that he ſuld faill and bring the Quen with him ; and that they wer all bot ſnaffellers that was with hir. And forget not till anoint the handis of ſome that wer famylier with his Maieſte, to interpret this his enterpryſe ſa weill, that it pat all vther byganes in forgetfulnes. And be litle and litle to inſourm his Maieſte ſa weall of the ſaid voyage, and of the gret charges that he maid vpon a faire and ſwyft ſailing ſchip, that his Maieſte was moued to tak the voyage him ſelf, and to faill in the ſame ſchip with the chancelair, with gret ſecrefie and ſhort preparation ; making na man preuy therto bot ſa many as the chanceler pleaſit, and ſic as had bene vpon his faction of before. He had alſo hard a nynckling of a word, how that his Maieſte, in the tym of his hauey diſpleſour, had ſend vnto my brother and me to tak the bourden of his affaires ; wherat he had a gret hid invy and diſpyt, and was the cauſe why his Maieſte maid me not preuy to his voyage in Denmark ; and was very miſcontent when his Maieſte had apponted my brother Sir Robert to be left vicechanceler, to convene the counſaill in his Maieſteis abſens, to hald hand with



the Duc of Lenox, my Lordis Hammiltoun, Bodowell, and vther noblemen, with the officers of the crown, to reull the contre in his Maieftes abfence.

Thre vther fchippis failed with his Maiefte, wherin was the Juftice Clark, Carmychell, the proueft of Linclowden, Willyem Keith, George Hum, James Sandelandis, and his mefter almowfer, with all his hynes ordinary feruandis. The wether was rough aneugh, for it was in the beginning of wynter ; bot the laft day was fa extream stormy that they wer all in gret danger. Bot his Maiefte landit that fame nycht at in Noroway, wher the Quen was abyding the wynd ; and wher he accomplifit his mariage in perfone, bot culd not be perfuadit to retourn in Scotland that winter, be raifoun of the raging fees and ftorme that he had fufteanit a litle of before.

The Quen and confaill of Denmark, being aduertift that his Maiefte was to abyd all that winter at , fend and requested him to com to Denmark. Wher he pafte be land, with the Quen his new bryd ; and behaued him felf honorably and liberally be the way, and at the court of Denmark, fa lang as he tareid ther.

P. 197. Bot the company that wer with his Maiefte held him in gret fafcherie, to agre ther continuall ftryf, pryd and partialites. The Erle Mar-  
chall, be raifoun that he was ane ancien erle, and had bene employed in that honorable commiffion, thocht to haue the firft place nyxt vnto his Maiefte, fa lang as he was ther. The chancelair, be raifoun of his office, wald nedis haue the preeminence ; lykwayes between the conftable of Dunde, and my L. Dinguall, for the firft place ; between the chancellor and the Juftice Clark. Bot George Hum fchot out quyety Willyem Keith, fra his office of mafter of the garderob. At lenth the hail

wair deuydit into twa factions ; the ane for the Erle Marchall, and thother for the chanceler, wha was the starker, becaufe the King tok his part. Sa that the chancelair tryumphed, and deuyfed, being yet in Denmark, many refourmations to be maid, and new fourmes and faffions to be fet fordwart at his Maieftes hamecommynge ; as to haue na preuy confaill bot the chekker, and the nobilite to be debarrit therfra ; and findre of the lordis of feffion to be put out, and others plaicit in ther rowmes. And caufed pen ane proclamation, quhilk was fend hame to be proclaimed before his Maieftes retournynge, that nane of the nobilite fuld com to court on being fent for, and then to bring with them fex perfones and na ma ; lykwais euery barron to bring bot four. And alfo was myndit that na knychtis fuld be maid at the Quenis coronation, bot sic as wer of worthy eftymation, be honorable behaour other in the warres, or that had bene employed ambaffadours towardis vther princes. Lykwais it was deuyfed, to put in ward sic as had bene vnreuly and inobedient during his Maieftes abfence ; as the Erle Bodowell, the lord Hum, and dyuers borderers and hyland men.

The nyxt fpring, as faid is, ther Maieftes cam hame and landit at Leith, weill accompanied ; with the admyrell of Denmark and dyuers of the confaill, and many other gentilmen, wha all his Maiefte traited honorable ; and efter the coronation of the Quen, rewardit them princely, with ma then tuelf golden cheignges, and many medallis of gold with his Maieftes picture.

His Maiefte, at his landing, had fend for me to bear them company ; quhilk I did vntill ther parting, to his hynes contentement. In the mean tym, the Erle of Worcefter was fend heir ambaffadour from England, to welcom and congratulat baith ther Maieftes, with fome presentis vnto the Quenis Maiefte. Whom his Maiefte commandit me

to enterteny all the tym of his heir being ; and at his parting, presented him with a riche ring of feuen gret dyamontis, that he parted weill satisfied, and sa did all his company.

It pleafit his Maieſte, at leaſer, to declair vnto me his haill voyage, and proceadingis during his abſence ; and ſaid that he wald that I had bene ſent myn allane ambaffadour in Denmark, in ſteid of the Erle Marchall and the tua that wer junit with him, he was ſa euell infourmed of the ſaid erle. I ſaid, that I vnderſtode that the Erle Marchall, for his awen part, had behaued him ſelf very honnorably and diſcretly, as the admyrall of Denmark, Stean Braue, and dyuers of ther company had infourmed me. Alwais, his Maieſte beleued the contrary for the tym, and ſaid farther vnto me, that he had greter faſcherie to kepe gud reull and ordour amang the few company that wer with him in Denmark, then had my brother Sir Robert to reull and kep quyetnes in all Scotland during his abſence. Quhilk prayſe my brother deſerued indede ; for he had fic fauour and credit with the nobilite and barrons and bourrowes, that they folowed his aduylſe, and beleued that he wald not ſay bot the trewth in his Maieſteis name ; and again, that he wald not hyd ther quyet behauour from his Maieſte at his hamecommynge.

P. 198. Bot the chanceler invyed my brother for the gret oppinion that his Maieſte had of him, notwithstanding that he was a ſpeciall inſtrument to bring the chanceler in court with his Maieſte, firſt when his hynes paſt to his liberte at Santandrowes, and efterwart to get him the office to kepe the gret ſeall, and ſyn to be chanceler in effect. The chanceler remembrit alſo of his Maieſteis deliberation, before his paſſing to Denmark, when he was miſcontent with the chanceler, what deration he ſend be the crownell Stuart to my brother and me. Quhilk the chan-



celler now went about to preuent, and tok occasion to callomniat my brother in his absence, becaufe my brother was sent for to vefit his wyf, lying in Brunteland at the point of death, in the mean tym that ther was ado with his office, to fournice fome litle neceffaires for the ftrangers. The chanceler tald his Maiefte, that he vfed euery Sater-day fa to do, during his Maiefteis absence, and taried ther thre or four dayes, neglecting that way the commown affaires of the contre ; and that it was the clark of the regifter, Sanders Hay, that had done all the gud offices quhilkis wer allegit that Sir Robert had done ; and kendled fa vp the Kingis anger againft Sir Robert, that he boifted till ward him, and tak his office fra him, fex dayes efter that fa gret rufe was maid of his fecfull feruice. Sa euell handled ar oft tymes gud princes and trew faruandis, be crafty callomnies. Bot his Maiefte repented fchone this fodane anger, being richtly infourmed, and converted the fame againft the faid chanceler vpon a nother occasion.

Ther was emulation between the confaill and the chamber ; the confaill complenyng, that the chamber wer the deuyfers of euery wrang that was done, be caufing his Maiefte fubfcrywe findre hurtfull fignatours and commiffions ; and gat pafte for them felues and ther frendis, the beft and maifte proffitable cafualites. They again wald other haue had the maifte part of the confaill at ther deuotion, or elis chengit and others mair frendly for them placit in ther rowmes. Wherupon the confaill confulted, and concludit together to caft the chamber ; yet ane of the confaill that had fome gret turn to be fped, difcouerit the enterpryse of the refte to the chamber ; wha having greteft credit with his Maiefte, pat the chanceler fchone out of conceat. Sa that at his firft commyng to fpeak with his Maiefte, he rebuted him very fourly ; and

leaving him, tok me be the hand, faying, " I am the worft handled prince in the warld, as I fall ſchaw yow the morn ; for now when I go to bed, I haue na will to enter vpon ſa melancolyk purpoſes ſa lait. Therfor ſend for your brother, and at his commyng, I fall declair vnto yow baith mair of my mynd. I can not forget a faying of yours, that it is the greteſt wyell in the warld to be trew." At my brothers commyng, we fand that the only cauſe was, that the chanceler and ſome with him wald haue wraked his Maieſteis treweſt myngnons ; quhilk my brother tok vp betwen them incontinent, to his Maieſteis gret contentement ; and the haill blame was layed vpon him that had oppenit vp the matter to the chamber.

P. 199. Efter the corownation of the Quenis Maieſte, and banketting and rewarding of the ſtrangers, they retournit hame weall contented. Ther was another convention apponted, for taking ordour with the affaires of the contre, to the quhilk many noblemen and barrons wer wreten for ; bot very few obeyed the ſaid wretingis, or wald com neir the court, becauſe when they wer firſt wreten for to the Quenis corownation, they thocht not them ſelues weill vſed. For hall, chamber, and all durris wer ſa ſtraitly and indifcretly keped, that they culd get na entre ; therfor many of them returnit malcontent to ther houſes. Nor na man was appointed to welcom them, and to direct them, except ſa many as wer maid knyghtis ; quhilk was the cauſe that ſa few cam again to court, the nyxt tym that they wer wreten for. For they that had bene laitly in Denmark with his Maieſte, thocht to retean him and the haill gouvernement in ther handis, and had geuen his Maieſte conſaill, not to be ouer famylier nor of ouer eaſy acces ; nane till enter in his chamber, bot ſamany as wer gentilmen of his chamber, with the chanceler and

some of the confaill ; and wer not content to haue the only acces, and haill handling at all other tymes, bot euen also at thir conventions, they occupied continually his Maiesteis ear in presens of the haill assemble, to let ther gret credit be seane, to be futed and buddit be sic as had to do with the prince. Nane of them all had mair occasions to occupy his Maiesteis ear, then I had at that tym. Yet when it wald please his Maieste to call vpon me, to know how euery stranger was traited and contented, I wald geue his Maieste a schort answer, and with a gret reuerence reteir and draw a fyd. Quhilk was perfault be some of the nobillite and barrons, that wer com to the said convention. In the quhilk, findre necessary refourmations wer intendit, bot nathing performed ; quhilk was the mair spoken of, because euery man hoped to se a fattelit estait at his Maiesteis hamcommynge ; and with the greter assurance, be raisoun of his Maiesteis promyse, maid publicly in the hye kirk of Edenbrough, to be a new man, and till tak vp another kynd of cair and doing in his awen persone, then had bene seane vsed of before. Quhilk certainly his Maieste was very willing to put in execution, bot, alaice, he lakit help and assistance. For sic as he reposed maist vpon, had na farther cair of his affaires nor as they mycht best serue to ther awen particulair proffit and aduancement to sic ambitious markis as they schot at ; making his Maieste in the mean tym beleue that all was weall rewled, and ordorit at wiffis. The contrary being to manifest, moued me to present vnto his Maieste, at dyuers tymes, some memorialis and informations anent his estait and gouernement. The maist part wherof I had set doun in wret, efter that the crownell Stuart had brocht commiffion from his Maieste vnto my brother Sir Robert and me, before his hynes sailing to bring hame the Quene,

during the tym that he was dolorous in Craigmillair, and miscontent with the chancelair, and sic of his confaill as had bene henderers of his mariage ; and had willit my said brother and me to sit down and aduysse vpon some gud reules, for the establisshing of gud ordour in his contre.

P. 200. " Sir, your hyenes happy hamecommynge has gretly reioised your haill subiectis. Your expectation has bene gret euer sen your birth, baith far and neir. Your publik promysse, to tak vpon you a mair kingly cair sen your retournynge, throw greter experience, hes augmented thier gud hope of a gracious gouernement. Your religion, pure and clean, your zeall to godlynes and iustice, your chaist and sincere lyf, your promptitud to suppress rebellions when they aryse, ravishes the hartis of the maist part of your subiectis, to loue you and esteame you the best King that hes bene thir many yeares in this realm. And yet they all maruell with stupifak myndis, to se your affaires sa vnkannely handled ; complenyng hauely that your contre was never in greter disfordour and distresse, the kirk sa euell content, your house sa euell at point, the nobilitie sa deuydit, the barrons in greter pouertie, and the commons mair opprest, nor never ma taxations raised, to the vtillite rathest of priuat personnes, ma parlementis halden, monyer lawes casten lowis and broken, your proclamations and missyues less obeid, and mourther and bludshedding mair increffit, sen your hynes hamecommynge and publik promysse, then it was during your absens.

" Therefore, fir, as in ane parrelous storm vpon the see, or till stanche sodane tane fyre vpon the land, euery mans help is requisit and acceptable ; sa I hope your hyenes clemency will confidder and geue gentill

audience, and your prudency will tak in gud part, this my dewtifull declairation and admonition ; the baldlyer enterprysed, vnder the warrant of your fauorable allowance ; folowing your famylyer commandement, before your hynes paffing till Denmark, that my brother and I fuld fet down the causes of the euellis and diforders that hes bene and is, together with the metest remedies for the refourmyng and amending of the misfreull.

“ Ther be thre cheif causes of all thir euellis and difordours.

“ The first, concernyng Godis seruice.

“ The second, concernyng your awen estait, and prouision of your house.

“ The thrid, concernyng the policy and commown weill of your contre.

“ As tuiching the seruice of God, neglected be our finnes and cairlefnes in the setting fourth of his glory, fuld be redressit and amendit be humble repentance, amendement of lyf and gud exemple, first in your awen persoun, vpon the quhilk euery mans ey is fixit, as the head to reull the rest of the members, with religion, justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitud. Cheifly be religion and justice haue all the best commown wealis bene rewled. Sa that sic contrees as wanted the knowlege of trew religion, seing the gret workis that God brocht till pass be his awen peculier people obseruyng his religion, they invented religions, trowing to imitat the Jews, fell in ydolatrie and superstition. Yet they straitly obserued ther said invented religion, and caused punish with death sic as dispyfed or spak against the same.

P. 201. “ Far mair fuld your Maieste be cairfull to set fordwart the trew religion, and to se the same reuerencit and obseruit ; and for that ef-



fect, fuld deuot and discret minifters be chofen, whais chriftien lyues may preach afweill as ther doctrine ; and fic to be prouydit with fufficient locald ftipendis, nother ouer mekle, till entyfe them till auarice, nor ouer litle, till mak them fa indigent as till cry out in all ther preachingis of ther pouertie ; in fic fort as they may haue na occafion yearly to leaue ther flock, to com and mak fut for ther lyving, with gret pain and expenfis, as they do prefently.

“ Dyuers ar the caufes of the difordour in your court and houfe. Officers and feruandis ar not chofen for ther qualites, bot at the inftance of this or that frend or courteour. Then the nomber of all fortis of feruandis ar not limitat, in placing about you fa many as ar neidfull, bot ane extraordinary nomber ; wheras twa ar anew in euery office ; and then your hynes prudency falbe beft knawen, when ye falbe fean to mak gud election of meit perfones for euery occupation. For the prince is ay eftemed to be femblable vnto tha fort of feruandis as he lykis beft to be about him. Mekle confiftis in this, to haue in court, discret, modeft, courtes and vngredy courteours. Nathing wonnes mair the hartis of the people to the prince ; for fa lang as they fee about him fic perfones, they ar out of fear to be bourdenit vnmeffurably. When they fe men that ar not gredy, importun crauers, nor prodigall fpenders of the princes geir and ther awen, nor fterer vp of the prince to tak mens lyues for ther landis, they ar in hop that euery man may lywe vpon his awen, and the prince alfo vpon his awen patrimony. Therfor fuld the chekker be alfo chofen of trew reftrik men, be the princes foirficht ; wha fuld be oftymes prefent himfelf, and heir his awen comptis. For few dar controill or find falt with the wrang comptis of fic officers as ar gret courteours, and in gret

fauour ; quhilk I haue oft tymes fean and found falt with my felf, being vpon the chekker, to my gret hurt and difcredit.

“ The caufes why the patrimonye of the crown is fa diminiffit, your hyenes predeceffours disponit mekle to the kirk, for deuotion, and to noblemen and barrons, for gud feruice. And fomtymes when princes wer cairles, to preuene rebellions vpon ther mifgouernement, they wer compellit to by the affiftance of a fort, be difpofition of landis, to help to reprefs another number of vnnaturall fubiectis ; quhilk ther cairfull and provydent gouernement mycht haue prevenit and efchewed.

“ Alfo your Maiefte, of a noble and princely nature, disponit liberal-ly vnto dyuers gredy and importun perfones, during your minorite, dyuers landis and rentis, quhilkis wald haue ftand in gret fteid to the enterenement of your houfe ; and ay heaped gift vpon gift till a fort of gredy cravers, and that be the perfuafions of fic as had your ear, and not to the beft deferuers.

12. “ Now the chekker being weill chofen, as faid is, and the rentmefters and ther officers that ar comptable to be trew refponfeable mean men, nother ouer gret men nor gret courteurs, bot fic as men dar controill, and will not fear till offend ; that all vacand benefices and cafualites be retenit in your awen handis, vntill ye fee what ye may fpaire.

“ Then the beft part of the properte lyes in the hylandis, wher nother God nor the King is ferued nor obeyed. Reducing the hylandis and the ylles, as your gudfchir K. James the fift did, your rentis may be that way redoubled. For the Kingis of Scotland wer never riche, fen they left the hylandis and the ylles to duell in the lawland ; for ay fen fyn ther rentis haue bene diminiffit, and ther superflow expences increffit, at the vneuenly exemple of other nations nybours.

“ Then your hynes parkis wald be pleniffit and put to proffit, quhilk wilbe found a necessary help to the halding of your house. The rest of your stoir rowmes, lying in the far south partis, ar in sic handis that they wald not be medlit with as yet ; bot some yearly number of wethers wilbe easely granted, be them that possels presently the saidis stoir rowmes.

“ Also the forbeden gudis that pass yearly out of Scotland, gene they wer stayed and tane according to actis of parlement, wald be very profitable.

“ The best meanis to bring thir gud purposes to pass, is a princely prudent and gracious gouvernement ; quhilk is easest brocht till pass when the prince correctis him self, before he correct his subiectis. For they wilbe schone subdewed vnto his will, when they se the same maid subiect vnto raisoun. For being subiect vnto raisoun, the prince has conkiffit him self ; the rediest meanis also to conkifs the hartis of the subiectis. Ther hartis being conkiffit, the contre is easely conkift. The contre being conkift, the prince may plant and establis gud ordour therintill at his pleafour.

“ Theopompe being demandit, what way a king mycht best conferue and reull his realme, answereth, in geving liberte to them that loue him to tell him the treuth. The senat of Rome, wreting vnto Trayan, excuses princes to be negligent in many thingis, not samekle for that they haue no desyre till foirsee, as becaufe few or nane dar warn them of the treuth ; and sayes mairouer, that it belangis to gud princes rather to haue regarde to the benefit of ther contre, then to the delytis of ther persone ; and rather till folow exercises till encrease ther reputation, then ther pastym ; then to be spair in speach, and prodigall in dedis.

“ And Plutarque to the fame Trayan : Gif thy regiment answer not to the expectation of thy people, thou canst not be bot subiect to many dangers. And sayes farther, that princes fall reull weill, gif they be thankfull to the gret God, patient in chances of fortun and in trauell, diligent in execution, cairfull of ther affaires and in dangers, myeld to the people, traitable to strangers, not greedy of riches, nor louers of ther awen oppinions and defyres, the bourthen of ther office wilbe easy vnto them.

P. 203. “ As God is the reuler and sprit of the world, sa aucht princes to reull, and to be the sprit of ther contre. The heauen, the earth, the see, the planetis, and all the elementis, obey Godis ordynance, be the strenth of his continuell motion and prouidence. Sa suld the prince, wha is Godis plaicehalder, be continuell cair, prouidence, and motion, cause euery lieutenant, minister, maiestrat, juge, officer and schreaff, kepe ther dew course in ther vocation. For the quhilk effect, it may please your Maieste confidder the nature and wrang kynd of Scottis gouernement, be ane continuall lang corrupted custome.

“ Scotland is inded hereditaire, and a monarchye. Yet amang all vther monarchicall kingdommes, it is ofttest out of tun, be the sleuth and cairlesnes of princes, the vnrewlynes and sturdynes of the subiectis, the gret rentis of the nobilite and ther gret nomber. Also the many gret comberfom clannes, sa reddy to concur togither, and to rebell for the deffence of any ane of ther name, or to reuenge the iust execussion of some of them, for mourther, slauchter, thift, or sic vther crymes. Our Kingis, wanting the meanes of fied wageours remanyng in garniffons, as other monarques has, may not, at all occasions, punishe and redress sic wrangis and disordour ; except sa many of them as, be

wisdome and vertu, had wincuft ther awen passions, oppinions and defyres, and be the same meanis, raviffit the hartis of the maist and best part of the subiectis, to assist them with hart and hand to suppress the rebelles, and to punish the offenders. Sic Kingis again as command absolutly, not karing for the hartis of ther subiectis, ther proclamations wilbe outwardly obeyed with ther bodyes; bot ther doingis will stand the prince in na steid in tym of neid, saif only to help to wrak him. Then ther is nathing mair dangerous for a Scotis K. that has not the loue of his subiectis, nor when a gret nomber ar convenit together; for at sic tymes, they vse to tak fodane consultations, to put ordour to the prince and his maist familier mignons. Of thir tua fortis of Kingis, the first is mair nor a monarque, and the last les then electywe. Of the first, in Scotland, ther hes rong ouer few; and of the last ouer many; quhilk is cause that the contre is not yet halely conkift to the lawfull King. Quhilk is also cause, that the corrupt customes and disorder hes lested sa lang, and ar not able to be remedied, vntill it may pleise God send thre sic Kingis as I haue named of the best fort, granting them lang lyf ilk ane to succead efter vther. I prey God that your Maieste may begin and continow to be the first of the thre. Bot wher it apperis ye ar aduyfed, be creating ma noblemen, to increafe your forces, wherby it rather makis them the starker; wheras dyuers vther princes preffit to mak them lawer and fewer, be raisoun of the auld emulation that hes lested between the Kingis of Scotland and ther nobilite; the Kingis to command absolutly as fouerain monarque; the nobles to withstand ther absolut power, sometymes be secret and indirect meanis, and oft tymes be plane resistance and force. Then the wyse, verteous and potent Kingis, wherof ther hes bene bot few, wer ay fouerain monarques,



and obtenit the maisterie ; and the cairles, fleuthfull and femple princes, that wer gydit be mean men, wer commownly kepit captywes or flane. The gud and worthy prince tok vpon him mair or les absolut power and autorite, as he fand him felf able, be affiftance, fubftance, and alliance, or as he fand his nobilite feble, fulifche, and devydit.

04. “ England beleues ay to be in the better eftait, be fchedding the bluid of ther nobilite, and debarring of them from the confaill and handling of the princes affaires. Scotland, now, contrary wyfe, be fpairing of the nobilite and barrons, and be making them partakers of honours and offices. For the way taking of the lyf of a nobleman or barroun, breidis ane hundreth ennemys ma or les, according to the gretnes of the clan or furname ; of the quhilk number fome will ly at the wait to be reuengit, albeit lang efter, when they fe ther tym. For the nobilite being fa many, be lang euell cuftom, they efteam them felues to be borne confellours ; and yet will not remain at court, nor vpon the confaill, without it be at conventions, or for fome particulaire proffit. And gif the prince pretend to reull by them, they vfe to mak fodane enterpryfes againft the prince and his famyliers ; of the quhilk tragedies, the cronikles ar fillit and defyled. Then efter fic a violent alteration, they think them felues odious to the prince ; fa that they feak commonly to be mefters ouer him fra that tym fourth, left he fuld, when he fies his tym, tak his revenge for ther contempt.

“ It is not beft then to debar your nobilite from being vpon the confaill ; bot grant plaice to a number of the wyfeft of them, wherof they will fchone tyre, and reteir when ther purfes begins to grow tume. And fa your ordonance fall tak effect of will, and they fall want occafion to gruge or rebell. It is meit alfo to won, be gud dede, part of the wor-

thyeft of your nobilite ; quhilk may be a ftay to hald the reft fra rebellion, when they will fee fa many of ther fort daily about you, and in your fauour.

“ Princes ar callit paitoures be Homere, and fathers of the contre be the Romans. Nane can be anfwerable till fic honorable names, without extrem diligence and fatherly cair, to fe euery officer occupy his vocation, and ftrait accompt to be tane how they difcharge ther dewtye ; rewarding weill doers and puniffing the offenders ; reward and puniffement being the pillaires wherupon the commown weill ftand.

“ Specially tak panes, this firft year of your mariage ; for the reputation obteanit the firft year, will left lang efterwart, whither it be gud or euell.

“ Be ernelt and liberall to get gud intelligence, afweill of the eftait of contrees nybours, as of your awen ; of the greifs of your fubiectis, and parcialites and feadis that fallis fourth ; quhilk will open your eyn to fe findre outgaitis in matters of eftait.

“ Geue famylier acces to your nobilite and barrons, when they com ; cheifly to all fic as ar wreten for to your conventions.

“ Geue open audience, anes euery owk at leaft, to riche and pure, refaving ther fupplikations and complantis, and with ftrait command to the confaill and mefter of requestis, to geue them anfwer with fodane difpasche.

“ Caufe reform the fuperfluite of clothing and banketing, afweill be your awen exemple as be commandement.

P. 203. “ Now fupponyng your Maiefte to be rype fruit, and na mair gren, I hope that your dear bocht experience hes maid you apt enough to receaue all profitable impreffions, prefented vnto you be your faithfull

prouen faruantis ; and not to commit fa easely again your wechty charge to any ane, twa or thre ; quhilk ye haue sean to haue alweis schot at ther awen markis, and not yours, bot to mak them selues gret and riche, parelling your estait to bring ther awen turnis to pás ; quhilk kynd of doing, be some cairles princes, caused the poet Du Bel-lay to cry out—

*O trois et quatre fois malheureux la terre  
Dont le prince ne void que par les yeux dautruy,  
N'entend que par ceux qui respondent pour luy,  
Aveugle, sourd, et muet, plus qui n'est une pierre.*

“ Na man will think it strange that, during your yong yeares, ye haue bene preffit and persuadit to lay the bourthen of affaires aff your self, vpon vthers wha gredely coueted that weichty charge abone ther capacite, wanting cair, knowlege, credit, and abilite, to bear it out. Bot now euery man will marvell, gif ye fuld do it in your perfyt age ; thinking that your prignant engyn, excellent memory, and hurtfull experiences, mon compell you to exerse the office of a K. in your awen persone. For wherof hes procedit fa many attemptatis, fa mony enterpryses, fa many takingis of your Maiesteis persone, fa many alterations and chengementis of court, consellouris, faruandis and lawes, bot be geving the charge and keping of your scheep and subiectis to certane ambitious ravinous wolves ; wha cessit not to cheifs and bring in court, for ther assistance, sic as they knew to be of ther awen qualites ; that they mycht concure togither, first, how to put out of your fauour, and debar fra your ear, all sic honest trew personnes as wald opon



your Maieſte ſuld eſchew the reproche of the poet Paucue in ane of his verſes, ſaying in the Frenche—

*Je hay, dit il, entre les hommes ceux  
Qui ſont eſpris d'un vouloir pareſſeux,  
Et touſiours ſemblent, ſ'on ſ'y fye,  
Practiquer l'art de la philoſophie.*

Italien.

*Chi non fa quel che deue, quel ch'aspetta non receue.*

Spanis.

*Si fueras regido par raxon, a muchos regiras.*

- “ In four thingis a prince ſchoneft wrakis him ſelf.
- “ To be cairles and fleuthfull in his affaires.
- “ To forſaik the ſeur counſell of his trew ſaruandis.
- “ To geue largely vnto vnthankfull flatterers.
- “ And to ſpend abone his rentis.

“ To retourn again to the purpoſe. It pleaſed your Maieſte to inquire, for the ſecond point, that mycht beſt ſatle your eſtate within the year. I ſaid, to ſubmit the haill bourthen, for a year, to a number of ſic as I ſuld name, with the beſt inclynit of your awen counſaill. To that your Maieſte agreed; bot when I cam mair in particulaire, your Maieſtie thoct it ouer mekle to be ſa far addicted, and ſa entierly ſubmitted. Then I requested your Maieſte to do the firſt, and do your awen office.

“ Yet not lang efter, your Maieſte ſubmitted your ſelf halely and entierly to aucht perſonnes, callit Octaviens ; and tald me how that ye had folowed my oppinion therintill, and had ſubmitted ſimpliciter for your tym to the ſaidis aucht perſonnes. I replyed, that I ſpak bot for ane year, and that I wald haue named ſome of the ſaid nomber, but not all.”

They wer wyſe men, learnit and politik, the vnmeater that they wer cheſers of them ſelues ; yet they began to do better then any had done before them. Bot they continowed not, bot deuydit amang them ſelues, efter that they had devydit the offices of the crown, to euery man ane ; wheras at the firſt, they had geuen fourthe that they ſuld plant mean reſponceable men in the ſaidis offices, and they all to be reſtrict controllouris of the ſaidis officers. Sa that many began to gruge againſt them, ſeing them becom ſa ſchone rich, and ther gret bakis, the haill ſubiectis and his Maieſteis awen domeſtikis to folow and depend vpon them, and Maieſte to paſs throw the ſtretis with thre or four, as foirfaiken, becauſe nane hoped any mair for reward at his hynes handis, bot ſa mekle as mycht be had for ſeruyng and depending vpon the ſaidis aucht lordis.

P. 207. They wer alſo ſa hated and enuyed, that a rebellion was raiſed in Edenbrough againſt them in his Maieſteis prefens, partly for the cauſes ſpecified, and alſo for ſuſpition of papiftre. Wherby they fled aff the town, and ſen ſyn wald not tak vpon them the haill gouernement, bot wer content to be junit with a nomber of noblemen and vthers of the confell, to the number of xxiiij. Bot the maiſt part of the noblemen taried not, bot cam quhen they wer wreten for to the conventions, as they wer wont ; ſa all this new deuyce tournit to the auld, ſicut antea.

Ye haue hard how that his Maieſte was aduysed, at his retournyng from Denmark, to put in ward ſic as wer geuen vp to haue bene maiſt vnrewly during his abſens ; bot being retournit, euen ſome of them that had deuysed the ſaid warding, wer the firſt warners of them that wer to be wardit ; not without ſome proffit for ther reward, to the gret diſcontentement of ſome of ther affociatis. Quhilk lowſed the band that was maid in Denmark be the chanceler and his faction, and cauſed euery ane of that nomber to ga findre and do for them ſelues. Sa that all ther platis and deuycs turnit to wynd and vanite.

A mynt was maid to chenge ſome of the ſeſſion, bot ther was na concurrence. The chekker continowed a whyll to be the only confell, and the nobilite when they cam, wer halden at the dur of that conſaill. Of the quhilk nomber I being ane, tok occaſion to ſay vnto his Maieſte, that it culd do na harm to cauſe them com in, ſeing they wer gret men, as my L. Hammiltoun, my L. Maxuell, and a nomber of vthers. Bot his Maieſte, of his awen motyue and naturell, was not chengeable fra the ordour layed down be them that he lyked and reposed vpon. Yet I paſt fourth of the chamber, and tald the noblemen that his Maieſte was vpon the ordoring of his rentis and daly expences, and thocht ſchame that they ſuld ſe the ſober eſtait therof ; quhilk was cauſe that they wer ſufferit to ſtand without. This litle excuſe ſatiſfied them in a maner ; bot this ordour was alſo ſchon alterit.

Anent the reducing of the hylandis and ylles ; thre of the principales, as Maclain, Maconell and Donald Gorm, wer ſubtilly drawen to the court be the chanceler, wha vnderſtod of ther partialites, and wer euery ane put in hope to get his hand beyond his ennemy. Bot at ther commyng, they wer all thre wardit in the caſtell of Edenbrough, to

ther gret astoniffement ; for they had committed sic foull mourthours vnder traift, that it wer horrible to rehers. Being therfore in fear of ther lyues, they delt largely of ther euell won gold to sic as had credit. Neuertheles they wer put to ane alyfe, and convict of traifoun, and for many vther foull crymes ; quhilk caufed them redouble ther giftis to the gyders ; bot not to the King, in sic fort as it was agreed between his Maieſte and them, that they ſuld geue plegis to pay yearly vnto his Maieſte tuenty thowſand markis, for the landis of the properte wherof they had na ſecurete, and of the quhilk they had of yearly rent, as was geuen in to the chekker, twa hundreth thowſand and fyfty thowſand markis. This was all geuen them quyt for tuenty thowſand. And wheras of before they had na richt nor ſecurete bot a forceable poſſeſſion, they obteanit ſure infeftementis, be chartour, ſeaſing and the gret ſeall, and a remiſſion of ther foull crymes. And ſchortly efterwart, ther plegis that wer kepit in the Blaknes wer ſet to liberte, for geving y<sup>m</sup>. markis to ane of his Maieſteis chamber ; and ſa the xx<sup>m</sup>. markis wer tint and never payed.

P. 208. Heir was a gud prince euell vſed and abuſed, and the half of his rentis robbit fra him ; and his God offendit, for ſpairing to do juſtice vpon sic bludy tirrantis, that acknawlegit nether God nor the King.

I had geuen his Maieſte aduylſe to paſs him ſelf to the ylles and big a fort, and to remain ther twa yeares, and promyſed to ga with him ; ſchawing his hynes how that the Kingis of Scotland wer never riche ſen they left the hylandis, to duell in the law landis, bot haue euer ſen ſyn deminiſſit ther rentis, and increffit ther ſuperſlew expences in cheir and clothing, at the uneuenly exemple in folowing the cuſtomes of vther nations nybours. Quhilk his Maieſte vnderſtod to be maiſt trew, and



was myndit to haue folowed the said aduyse; bot all was alterit be the formair misfreull.

Matters proceeding in this sort, many began to tyn hope of amende-ment, or to se schortly sic a reformation as was promysed and that they loket for; lamenting to se a gud K. sa euell handled, and that him self suld ouerse the same, and suffer euery thing to pass at the pleasour of them that wer about him.

About this tym his Maieste send for me, and at my commyng to Facland, wher the court remanit for the sommer seasoun, it plaist his hynes to tell me, how that at his commyng out of Denmark he had promysed to the Quen and Confell ther, to place about the Quenis Maieste his bedfallow gud and discret company; quhilk he had left ouer lang ondone, till at lenth he aduyfed with him self that I wald be metest; willing me not to refuse the just calling of my prince. Wherin I mycht serue as in ane lawfull vocation; because they that sut for seruice in court or any office, dois it for ther awen profit; bot they ar mair profitable for princes, that ar socht and chosen for ther qualites. "I knaw that ye wald fayn lyue at hame in your house with contentement of mynd; bot ye knaw that a man is not born for him self only, bot also for the weall of his prince and contre; and wheras your continowall vnwating wilbe coistly and chargeable to yow, and henderfome to your awen affaires at hame, I fall ordane sufficient enterterment for your present releif, and recompence for this and your formair faithfull seruice."

I answerit that, as his Maiesteis maist humble saruant and subiect, I neuer refused till obey his commandement; and suld be his direction do my vtter diligens to satisfie his hynes expectation. Then it pleaseth

him to tell me, how that nane of his confaill, nor chamber, nor na man was maid preuy to this purpos, bot a only man ; and that the Quen had gottin word of it, and supponit that I was to be put ther to infourm her richtly of the estait of the contre, and anent hir behanour to his Maieste, and to euery nobleman and lady conform to ther rankis and conditions, and to be hir keper.

Now his Maieste tok occasion to enter in purpos with me openly at the table, and therupon schew vnto the Quen, how that sche and all hir nation wer addetted vnto me, for the continowall gud will and report that I maid of that nation ; and also how that I had seane many  
P. 209. contrees, and was a man of sa gret experience, that baith he and sche mycht learn at me findre thingis profitable for ther weill, and standing of ther estait ; and that the Quen his mother fand hir self mekle releued be my conversation, and seruice of importance, asweill heir at hame as when I was employed be hir in other contrees. This far his Maieste said abone my deferuingis, to set me out, and to cause hir Maieste tak the better lyking of me. Wherunto the Quen schew na gret contenance, bot tok cauldly with me ; when, efter denner it pleased his Maieste to present me vnto hir, to be hir hynes confellour and gentleman of hir chamber. Some dayes efter, hir Maieste askit at me gif I was ordonit to be hir keper. I answerit, that hir Maieste was knawen to be discendit of sa noble and princely parentis, and sa weill brocht vp, that sche nedit na keper, albeit hir dignite requyred to be honorable seruit with men and women, baith yong and auld, in findre occupations. Then sche said that I was euell done to ; and how that at the first, when sche was yet yngnorant of euery mans qualites, some indiscret enuyers wald haue put me in hir disfauour. I said that I was put in

About this tym, many witches wer tane in Lowdien, wha deponit of some [ ] maid be the Erle Bodowell, as they allegit, againt his Maiesteis persone. Quhilk commyng to the said erlis eares, he entered in ward within the castell of Edenbrouch, defyryng to be tryed; alleging that the deuell, wha was a lyer from the begynning, nor yet his sworn witches, aucht not to be credited. Specially ane renowned midwyf callit Anny Sampfoun, affirmed that sche, in company with nyn vthers witches, being convenit in the nycht besyd Prestounpannes, the deuell ther maister being present standing in the midis of them; ther a body of wax schaipen and maid be the said Anny Sampfoun, wrappit within a lynnyng claith, was first delyuerit to the deuell; quhilk efter he had pronuncit his verde, delyuerit the said pictour to Anny Sampfoun, and sche to hir nyxt marrow, and sa enery ane round about, saying, this is K. James the sext, ordonit to be consumed at the instance of a noble man Francis Erle Bodowell. Efterwart again, at ther meting be nycht in the kirk of Northberick, wher the deuell, cled in a blak gown with a blak hat vpon his head, preachit vnto a gret number of them out of the pulpit, having lyk leicht candelis rond about him. The effect of his langage was till knaw, what skaith they had

done, whow many they had won to ther oppinion sen ther laft meting, what succes the melting of the pictour had tane, and sic vain toyes. And becaufe ane auld fely pure plowman, callit Grey Meill, chancit to fay that "nathing ailit the King yet, God be thankit," the deuell gaif him a gret blaw. Then dyuers amang them enterit in a raifonyng, maruelling that all ther deuellerie culd do na harm to the K. as it did till others dyuers. The deuell anfwerit, "Il est vn home de Dieu." And certainly he is a man of God, and dois na wrang wittingly, bot is inclynit to all godlynes, justice, and vertu, therefore God hes preferued

P. 210. him in the midis of many dangers. Now efter that the deuell had endit his admonitions, he cam down out of the pulpit, and caufed all the company to com and kifs his ers, quhilk they faid was cauld lyk yce; his body was hard lyk yrn, as they thocht that handled him; his faice was terrible, his noife lyk the bek of ane egle, gret bournyng eyn; his handis and legis wer herry, with clawes vpon his handis and feit lyk the griffon, and fpak with a how voice.

The trikis and tragidie that he played them, amang fa many men and wemen in this contre, wald hardly get credit be the posterite; wherof Mefter James Carmichell minifter of Haddingtoun has ther history and haill depofitions. Amang vther thingis, fome of them fchew how that ther was ane weftland man, callit Riche Grame, wha had ane familier fpirit; the quhilk Riche, they faid, culd baith do and tell many thingis, cheifly againft the Erle Bodowell. Wherupon the faid Riche Grame was apprehendit and brocht till Edenbrough; wha being exemed before his Maiefte, I being present, granted that he had ane famylier fpirit that fchew him findre thingis. Bot he denyed that he was a witch, or had any frequentation with them. Bot when it was an-



swerit to him again, how that Anny Sampfoun had declaired, that he caused the Erle Bodowell addrefs him till hir; he granted that to be trew, and that the Erle Bodowell had knowlege of him be Effe Mac-kalloun and Barbery Naper, Edenbrough wemen. Wherupon he was sent for be the Erle Bodowell, wha requyred his help to cause the Kingis Maieſte his maiſter to lyk weill of him; and to that effect he gaif the ſaid erle ſome drog or herb, willing him at ſome convenient tym to tuiche his Maieſteis faice therwith. Quhilk being done be the ſaid erle, and fand him not the better, he delt again with the ſaid Riche, to get his Maieſte wracked, as Riche allegit; wha ſaid that he culd not do ſic thingis him ſelf, bot that a notable midwyf wha was a witche, callit Anny Sampfoun, culd bring any ſic purpoſ till paſs. This far the ſaid Riche Grame affirmed dyuers tymes before the conſaill. Nevertheless he was brunt, with the ſaid Sampfoun and findre other witches. This Riche allegit that it is certane of the fary folk, and that ſpritis may tak a fourm, and be ſean, bot not felt.

The Erle Bodowell, as I haue ſaid, was entrit in ward within the caſtell of Edenbrough, his Maieſte not willing to credit his deuelliſche accuſers. Bot the conſaill thocht meteſt, that he ſuld paſs his tym in other contres for a whyll, vnder ſome artycles and conditions. Bot ſome of them that wer apponted to deall with him, went about to draw commodite fra him to be his frendis; vthers that wald haue had the eſtait troublit, maid him falſe aduertifementis. Quhilk cauſed him tak purpoſ to ſaif him ſelf out ouer the caſtell wall, and reterit him ſelf to Caitnes; wher he wes ſchortly ſent for be ſic as wer malcontentis, and vthers wald haue fiſhed in dromely watters, alleging that they had maid him frendis anew in court, and that ther was a fayre enterpryſe deuyſed to

tak the K. and fley the chancellor. To this purpos, he wes easely per-  
P. 211. fuadit to com and mak him self head of the said enterpryse ; wha not  
lang efter, accompanied with James Douglas somtymes lard of Spot,  
the lard of Nitherie, mester Jhon Coluille and findre vthers, entrit in  
the Kingis palice lait about supper tyme, be the passage of ane auld  
stable, not without secret intelligence with some that wer about his  
Maieste. Sa schone as they wer all within the clofe of the palice, they  
cryed, " Justice, Justice, a Bodowell, a Bodowell ;" and had bene maif-  
ters of the haill, wer not that James Douglas of Spot, efter that he had  
tane the keyes from the porter, enterit within the porter loge to re-  
leauve some of his seruandis that wer keped ther in prisoun, and had bene  
examined and buted, vpon suspition of the slauchter of his gud father the  
auld lard of Spot. In the quhilk doing ther was some resistance maid  
be the porters, the bruit wherof raife schoner nor was the intention of  
the enterprysers ; quhilk was a foirwarnyng to his Maieste, the chan-  
celor and vthers, to cloise and fortifie ther chamber durris, and to mak  
resistance, vntill some releif cam out of the Canogait, be convoy of my  
brother Sir Androw Melville of Garvok, his Maiesteis maister houshald ;  
wha knew a secret passage throw the abbay kirk, and entrit be the  
same in armour. Quhair of the Erle Bodowell and his company being  
aduertist, stealed quyetly throw the galleries vnto the part wher they  
entrit in the palice, and fled without any gret harm done, as God wald ;  
saif in his outganging, he chancit to meit with Jhon Schaw master  
stabler to his Maieste, whom he flew togither with his brother, being  
in a rage that the enterpryse had failed. Bot dyuers of his company  
wer apprehendit be my said brother, and be others efterwart, wha wer  
all executed the nyxt day.



Ther maner of proceeding was ; first the Lard of Spot with a company tok the keyes, and maid them felues mesters of the portis of the palice. Another company wer directed to the chanceler, wha wes fitting at his supper, and my brother Sir Robert with him, and had bene tane, wer not the Lard of Spotis earnestnes to releif his faruandis. The bruit wherof caused the chanceler to fle out of his hall to his chamber, and schut the dur efter him ; sa that my said brother gat na entre, bot reterit him self in another void house, wher na body perfewed him ; nether was he in any fear for him self. The Erle Bodowell, accompanied with Mester Jhon Coluille and vthers, addresfit them vnto the Quenis chamber dur, wher he supponit to find his Maieste ; bot the dur was weill deffendit be Hary Lindsay of Kilfans, hir Maiesteis maister houshald. In the mean tyme, his Maieste was convoyed vp to that towr abone the said chamber, efter that the dur of hir hynes chamber had bene broken with foir hammers in dyuers partis, and that Mester Jhon Coluille had caused bring fyre to burn it vp. The dur of the chancelers chamber was manfully debaited be him self, and caused his men schut out of the windowes continowally, and throw durriss ; wher Robert Scot brother to the lard of Belwery was schot throw the thy. And wer not my brother the mester houshald, that was newly planted in the north fyd of the close, cryed to the chanceler not till schut towart that fyd, he was in danger also. Bot the chanceler tok curage when he hard his voice, and then the enterprysers fled as said is.

212. At ther first entre within the palice, I was fitting at the yffin of our supper, with my L. Duc of Lenox ; wha tok his fuerd incontinent, and preffit fourth. Bot he had na company, and the plaice alredy full of vnfrendis, we wer compellit to fortifie the durriss and staires, with

burdis, fourmes, and stules, and be spectatoris of that strange hurly burly, for the spaice of ane hour ; behalding with torche leicht fourth of the Dukis gallerie, ther reilling, ther rombling with halbertis, the clakking of ther colueringis and pistolles, the duntting of melis and forehammers, and ther crying for justice. Now ther was a passage between the chancelers chamber and my L. Ducs be a staire. During this frey, the chanceler cam vp the said staire, and desyred entre in my Lord Ducs chamber. My L. Duc, be my aduysse, willit him to cause his men debait at the nether dur sa lang as they mycht, and offerit to reskue him self within his chamber ; quhilk the chanceler tok in ane euell part, and suspected my L. Duc, and sa returnit bak again to his awen chamber, and debait the best he culd, as said is. My L. Duc, sa schone as he saw company of frendis within the close, past fourth to perfew the Erle Bodowell and his company ; bot the nycht was dark, and they tok them spedely to ther horse and eschaiped.

They being reterit, we gat entre to hir Maiesteis chamber, wher the K. was for the tym com down. Wher his Maieste discoursit with me a gud space of this terrible attemptat, and of his many hard fortunes. Wher I left not to tell his Maieste, some of the speciall causes of the saidis enterpryses, and how that many of them mycht haue bene eschewed and prevenit, be a prudent and cairfull gouvernement ; as may be sufficiently marked and considerit be the many admonitions and formair aduertissementis that wer maid vnto his Maieste, before all the accidentis that chancit vnto him, and also in this. For, twa dayes before this enterpryse, my brother Sir Robert and I had gottin intelligence, that ther was ane enterpryse schortly to be execut be the Erle Bodowell and his complices, against his Maieste and the gyders of





court ; wherof his Maieſte being aduertified, maid na accompt therof, bot was the nyxt day paſſing to the huntis to tak his paſtym. Quhilk coming to my brothers eares, he raiſe out of his bed ſark allane, only in his nycht gown, and cam fourth to the vtter cloſs of the abbay, and tok his Maieſte be the brydill, (for he was alredy vpon horſbak,) to haue ſtayed him with many perſuaſions, bot all in vain. For we wer in dout whither the enterpryſe wald be execut in the feildis, or within the palice.

Efter this attemptat, his Maieſte paſt vp to the town of Edenbrough for his greter ſecurite, wher ther wer dyuers new enterpryſes maid ; wherof my brother Sir Robert getting oft aduertifmentis, ſometymes to kepe his logging ſic a nycht, ſometymes to be weill accompanied ſic a nycht, as a man that had done pleſour to many, and was not hated, nor wald not be in danger, ſa that he mycht ſaif himſelf from the firſt fury of the enterpryſers. This hes bene the hard eſtait of this gud king, for laying the bourding of his affaires vpon men that wer hated, and  
P. 213. envyed for ther ambition, gredines, particuliers and vengeance ; wha ſa ſchone as they had atteanit ſa wechty a charge, tok only cair how to mak them ſelues ſchone riche, and maiſt commonly be the wrak of vthers, or ther ennemys ; ſa blindlingis tranſported be ambition and gredines, that they ouerſaw baith king and commown weall ; making the K. content with faire langage, and the contre miſcontent be hurtfull dedis ; caring only how to diſcredit ſa many honeſt men as they knew wald diſcouer ther miſbehauour, or that wald opon againſt the fame ; quhilk I may juſtly teſtifie for my part.

Not lang efter this, a new enterpryſe was maid to mak a gret change in court, be ſome courteours amang them ſelues ; when as the Meſter of

Glames was tresorer, Sir George Hume maister of the garderob, my L. of Spyny gentilman of the chamber, and yong Logy also ; Sir Jhon Maitland lord of Thirlestane chanceler, Sir Robert my brother tresorer deput, and had the principall handling of the office be receaving and debourfing ; the prouest of Linclouden collectour and Seatoun of Parbroith controllour, and Sir Richard Cocburn of Clarkingtoun secretaire, and I was ane of the preuy consaill, and gentilman of hir Maiesteis chamber. My L. Duc, my Lord of Mar, and my Lord Hume, wer drawn vpon this course, to refourm the abuffis in court, as was allegit. Ther was na gud lyking betwen the maister of Glames and my Lord of Spyny, cheifly for the fead betwen the houfes of Crafford and Glames. Then my Lord of Spyny was in fa gret fauour with his Maieste, and sometymes his bedfallow, that he was worthy to be enuyed, attour the foirsaide feid. Then he was accused to haue bene a dealler with the Erle Bodowell, and was decourted for a tym. Yong Logy was estemed to haue had gret dealing with the saide erle, and was accused and tane and wardit for the same ; bot he eschaped out of a window in Daketh, be the help of a Dence gentilwoman, whom he married efterwart.

Ther was a gret fuspition betwen my L. Duc and the chanceler ; for efter the lait enterpryse in the abbey, the chanceler caused cloise vp the passage with stane and lym, that was betwen his loging and my L. Duckis ; wherby he gaif the Duc till vnderstand that he suspected him, quhilk was weill raclefly done be the saide chanceler. For efter that this new alteration was intendit, and callit the enterpryse maid at Dakeith, my L. Duc and my L. Hume ryding from Dakeith to Edenbrough, met the chanceler weill accompanied ryding to the court ; wher the



faid lordis maid a mint to fet vpon him, as to fley him. Yet the matter was helpit, at that tym, be Allexander Hume of Northberwik and my brother, wha wer in company with the chanceler for the tym. Bot fchortly efter that, the chanceler left the court, and reterit him to his houfe. And in his abfens, a gret number of faltis wer layed out againft him, and amang the reft, how that [he] had maid fa gret henderance to the Kingis mariage, wherby the Quenis Maiefte was maid his gret enemy.

The Mefter of Glames alfo wald fayne haue had my brother out of his office, to bruik the haill office of treforer his allane. Therefore the lard of Carmychell, capten of the gard, was eafely perfuadit to caufe a number of the gard, that ftod with colueringis at the yettis of the place of Daketh, to boift to fley my faid brother dyuers tymes, in his paffing in and fourth of the place of Daketh; fupponing that my brother fuld tak a fear of his lyf, and leaue the court as the chanceler had done. Bot my brother maid na accompt of ther boift, for he knew the Duc to be his frend, and that he had bot a few ennemys; therefore hanted the court offer than he was wont to do, and cam ay weill accompanied. For they culd get nathing to lay to his charge, bot faid vnto his Maiefte that he was ouer liberall in his office to be a treforer, ouer eafy in his compositions, and ouer gentill to the horners. The Quenis Maiefte, according to hir custome, whenever fche vnderftandis that his Maiefte, be wrang information, is fterit vp againft any honest faruant or fubiect, fche procures incontinent for them, and vfes gret deligence to get fure knowlege of the verite, that fche may the baldlyer fpeak in ther fauour. Therefore fa fchone as hir Maiefte vnderftod that they wer deling againft Sir Robert my brother, it pleased hir to fpeak far in his fauour; declaring how that at hir firft landing in this con-

tre, his Maieſte had preſented him vnto hir, praying him to haue bene a trew ſaruant to the Quen Regent his gudame, to the Quen his mother, and to him ſelf, willing hir to think ſa of him and to vſe his gud counſaill. And alſo many of the lordis tok my brothers part, in ſic ſort as he kepit ſtill court.

When this chengement was maid, I was abſent ; and at my comyng again to the court, his Maieſte tald me of the chancelers fearfull retrait, and that he was in na danger in his company. I ſaid again, that the princes preſens ſuld be a ſaif gard, albeit it was not alwayes ſa in Scotland. It apperit that his Maieſte, be hard inſourmations, was ſomething alterit vpon the chanceler, and my Lord of Spyny, and my brother ; for as the Meſter of Glames wald haue had his office, others miſlyked hym becauſe he hanted the chancelers company, and was thoct to be his gret frend ; ſa that his Maieſte was moued to think and ſpeak, that he was not meit for his office. I being preſent, anſwerit that I lamented to heir and ſee ſa gud a prince alwayes enuyronit with euell company, cauſing him ſa oft, without offence, caſt aff his maiſt ancient and faithfull ſaruantis ; and that it ſuld be ſean, let men ſerue neuer ſa weill, gif it be euell interpret be ſic as had his ear, it auailed not. To this his Maieſte replyed, that he knew my brother to be a trew ſaruant, bot ouer gentill, lyberall and eaſy in his compoſitions, and that he ſuld neuer alter vpon him nor me. Sa that his Maieſte continowed conſtant, againſt the intention of ſome of them that wer about him.

Heir it may be ſean, how neceſſary it is to haue gud frendis beſyd the prince, and how hurtfull and dangerous it is for a courteour, when ſic as haue the prince ear ar ther ennemys. Otherwayes what ſoouer he be that repofes vpon his gud ſeruice, is commounly cowped and wraked.



About this tym capten James Stuart, vmwhyll callit Erle of Arran, wha had bene lang absent euer sen the raid of Stirling, cam to the court, and spak with his Maieſte, and pretendit to haue obtenit again his office of chancelair. His Maieſte had ſtill a gud lyking of him, and wald haue bene content of his company, bot others held him a bak; and ſchortly efter that, he was ſurpryſed and flane be James Douglas of Parkheid, for the death of the Erle of Mortoun his oncle, and litle deligence maid for the reuenge therof; many thinking ſtrange that he was left ſa lang on lywe, in reſpect of his inſolent behauour when he had the court. He had wone many that wer about his Maieſte, and ſome miniſters conſented to his incommyng again to the court.

P. 215. Now the chanceler, that was decourted at the chengement maid in Dakeith, did what he culd to get his Maieſteis fauour; quhilk he obtenit, and was brocht in again. Bot the Quenis Maieſte wald not ſe him, nor haue to do with him; yet at lenth, be the moyen of Sir Robert Car of Sefford, wha had maried his brother dochter, his drefs was maid alſo with hir Maieſte.

About this tym, ther araife gret ſtryf and diſorder in the contre be- 1591.  
tween the Erles of Huntly and Murray, betwen the Erles of Caitnes and Sutherland, betwen my Lordis Hammiltoun and Angus; for dyuers of them had maid futtis, and obtenit commiſſions, with ample preueleges ouer others landis, afweill as ouer ther awen, quhilk pat many of them in diſcord. Wherof I aduertift his Maieſte, that ordour mycht be tane theranent. Wherupon the conſaill being conuenit, they ordonit lettres to be directed in his Maieſteis name, charging them all to leaue af fra hoſtilite, and to compere before the preuy conſaill at pre-fixt dayes.

Firft the Erles of Huntly and Murray comperit, being a gentilman of his name flain with a fchot out of the houfe of Tarnaw, be therle of Murray, whom they braggit at his awen houfe. Baithe the parties being com ftark to the court, wer commandit to keip ther logins, for efchewing of comber. Before ther compering, his Maiefte was aduyfed be the chanceler and fome of the chamber, what ordour fuld be meteft to be tane between them. Then his Maiefte proponit the fame to the confaill him felf, to wit thre pointis ; other preſent agrement to be maid, or warding of baith the erles, or caution to be tane of baith ; then to fend hame the ane, and hald the other ftill at court for a whill. His Maiefte folowing fourth his propofition, declared firft, how that the parties culd not be preſently agreed, becaufe of the het bluid of the Lard of Cluny, Gordons brother, laity flaine. And anent warding, that the caſtell of Edenbrouch had anew of wardouris alredy ; that the abbay was not a meit ward for noblemen. Sa that caution to be tane of them baith wald be beſt ; and to hald them flindre, to fend hame the ane, and retein the other in court for a feaſoun. The chanceler was of that fame oppinion, and findre vthers that vſed commonly to pleaſe them that had the cheif handling. Then his Maieſte commandit me to tell my oppinion ; quhilk was, that I wiffit na delay bot preſent agrement ; ſupponyng that the Erle of Huntly, for his Maieſteis pleaſour and command, wald not refuſe nor think tohame to obey his prince be a preſent vptaking ; ſeing he was com ſa far a journey, with his wyf and haill houfhald, to remain all that winter in court. At this the chancelair chekkit me up tantingly, ſaying that the Erle of Huntly wald tary at court all that day till the morn, and wald part na fchoner ; for he had promyſed to the ſaid erle that advantage vpon his ennemy ; albeit, the erles intention was to haue taried



all that winter in court. The justice clark was of my oppinion, bot said that it apperit his Maieste, with the chanceler, had concludit alreedy to fend Huntly hame, and let the other remane at court.

Sa fchone as the Erle of Huntly was at hame in the north, and wanting his compeditour, tryumphed and tok findre aduantages vpon the Erle of Murreys dominions, geuing the Erle of Murrey occasion to complain; bot getting na redrefs, reterit him from the court, and becam sa malcontent, that he tok plane part with the Erle Bodowell, wha was still vpon his enterpryses. The Erle of Huntly, aduertift that his ennemy was becom ane outlaw with the Erle Bodowell, re-  
 216. turnit again to court, to get yet farther aduantages ouer him. Bot in the mean tym, the Lord Ogiltre trauelit to agre them; with consent of his Maieste drew the Erle of Murray to Donybirsell, to be neir hand, that ther conditions and artikles mycht be ekked or paired, at the plefour of ther frendis. The Erle of Huntly being also maid preuy to his commyng to Donybirsell, obteanit incontinent ane commiffion, (seamyng to do his Maieste acceptable seruice,) till persew be fyre and sword the Erle Bodowell and all his partakers. Litle wist his Maieste that he was myndit, vnder this generall, to assailge the Erle of Murray at his awen house, vnder commownyng, to fley him, as he did to the regret of many.

Bot the Lord Ogiltre tok sic a despyt, that his frend was sa flane 1592. vnder commownyng, as he allegit, that he tok plane part with the Erle Bodowell; and sa did dyuers vthers, encuraging the said erle to assailge the Kingis Maieste within his palice of Facland; having dyuers in court, that wer famylier anough with his Maieste, vpon the said conspyracy with him, whais consaill his Maieste folowed maist. Sa that they drew him in ane hoise net, to abyd still in Facland, not-

withftanding of the many fure aduertiffementis that had bene maid vnto him. Sic hes bene his Maiefteis hard fourtoun at many fic ftrait tymes.

The few number that wer faithfull and cairfull for his Maiefte, gaif him confaill, efter the firft aduertiffement, to pafs to Couper, and conuene with all poffible deligence the barrons of Fyf for his deffence. Bot fic as focht his wrak, perfuadit him to tary and delay; alleging that they had fure aduertiffement, that the Erle Bodowell wald not com out of Lowdien till fic a day; quhilk wald haue bene twa dayes langer, and behind the day quhilk he keped, and cam till Facland twa dayes fchoner. This aduyfe was geuen, that his Maiefte mycht be furpryfed, before he culd other enter within the tour of Facland, or be provydit with any forces to deffend him. And becaufe they knew my brother and me to be cairfull for him, they aduyfed his Maiefte to fend us hame to our houfes, that fame nycht that we vnderftod the Erle Bodowell wald be ther, and had fa tald his Maiefte; bot he beleued his abufers better. Bot we gaif his Maiefte confaill to ryd quyety to Banbriech, and mak na man preuy therto bot ane, and let it appeir that he was ftill in Facland fecretly within the tour; then at ther comyng, miffing his Maiefte, they wald be difcoragit, and geue they cam till perfew him in Banbriech, he mycht tak a boit, and pafs oner till Angus, wher he wald haue leafer till conuene the townes of Perth and Dundee, and the contre. Bot this aduyfe was alfo ouerthrowen be them that wer vpon the contraire part.

Thus we being commandit be his Maiefte to ryd hame and to warn the contre incaice he wer befegit within the tour, euery ane raid hame. My brother that fame nycht, be the way, was aduertift

be ane of the Erle Bodowelis awen company, how that he was al-  
redy in Fyf, and wald be in Facland about supper tym ; vpon the  
quhilk aduertifment, he fend bak a gentilman of his callit Robert  
Athlek, to fchaw his Maieſte and to request him to enter in dew  
tym within the tour. When the ſaid Robert declaired the matter  
vnto his Maieſte, they all leuch at him and ſcorned him, and ſaid  
that he was bot a full. The ſaid Robert, ryding bak again, mal-  
content to haue ben ſa mocked, met the Erle Bodowel and his company  
vpon the heicht of the Lommondis, when it was elis dark nycht, and  
P. 217. turnit incontinent as gif he had bene an of thers, and vſed gret deli-  
gence to be firſt at his Maieſte ; entring within the palice of Facland,  
cloſed the getis him ſelf, and cryed continowally to cauſe his Maieſte en-  
ter within the tour ; wha beleued him at lenth, and mocked him na mair.

The Erle Bodowell at his commyng had pittardis to brek vp getis  
and durris. It was allegit that ſome of them that ſchot out of the  
tour for his Maieſteis deffence, had chargit ther culveringis only  
with paiper ; bot ſome of his Maieſteis houfhald officers ſchot out  
boulletis, quhilk gaue the erle and his company a gret ſkar. Alfo his  
entring within the tour before he was ſuppryed, ſupponyng that the  
contre wald gather ; the ſaid erle and his company reterit and fled,  
without any folowing efter them, wher a few nomber mycht haue  
eaſely ouertane and ouerthrowen them. That ſame nycht I lay in my  
butis abone the bed, awating vpon word out of Facland, wher ther was  
ane left to that effect ; at whais bakcomming, I with other frendis and  
nybours raid to conuene the contre at Couper, to haue reſcued his  
Maieſte. To the quhilk his Maieſte fend, and aduertift us that the  
erle and his company wer fled ; yet deſyred the barrons and townes to  
com fordwart to Facland, as they did to the number of thre thowſand

that fame day at efternun. This way God delyuerit his Maieſte myraculoſly, as he had done dyuers tymes of before.

About this tym, cam to his Maieſte ane honeſt gentilman of Yreland, callit \_\_\_\_\_, wha maid offers of conſequence to his Maieſte. Wherof the Quen of England was incontinent aduertit, to requyre the ſaid gentilman to be delyuerit vnto hir, quhilk the maiſt part of the counſaill perſuadit his Maieſte to do. Albeit, the Juſtice Clark and my brother and I wer of the contrary oppinion; quhilk dede did gret harm to the weill of his Maieſteis affaires in England and Yreland. This I ſay with gret regret, becauſe it was ſa far againſt his Maieſteis awen mynd; and yet ſufferit to be done, becauſe the cheif ringleaders haue bene alwayes wone to the deuotion of England.

Now the Prince being borne at Stirling the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ in the year \_\_\_\_\_, his Maieſte thocht meit to ſend ambaffadours till Eng-  
 1594. land, Denmark, France, and Flanders, to requyre ther ambaffadours to be ſend to the baptiſme of the Prince his firſt born ſone; the counſaill being commandit to diſern vpon ſic as wer meteſt to be ſend for that meſſage, as they did. Yet ſic as procured to be ſend, obteanit the commiſſion, albeit ſome of them wer vnmeit for that erand; as Sir Willyeam Keith, becauſe he culd nether ſpeak French, Latin nor Flemmyng; the lard of Eaſter Weames procured to cary the commiſſion to France, and alſo to England, becauſe he was to paſs ther for to ſut his awen affaires, being the K. of France ſaruand. Bot Meſter Peter Yong ſped beſt, wha was ſend to Denmark, and to the Dukis of Mekelbourg and Brunſwick, for he gat thre fair cheigngeis. Bot the K. of France nor the Quen of England gaif nathing; quhilk ther dewty had cauſed them to do, gif ambaffadouris expreſs had bene ſend vnto them.

P. 218. Nether fend the K. of [France] any ambassadour heir at that tym; quhilk the Quen of England was anes at the first myndit to do the lyk, vntill that sche was aduertift be hir ambassadour in France, that the K. wald fend nane. Then very lait sche fend the Erle of Suffix, to let us think that sche wald be ay a redy frend, when France wald refuse and ly abak. On the vther part, the Ducs of Mekelburgh and Brunfwik wer discontent, that they wer sa far dispyfed as not to fend them a man exprefs to ilk ane of them. A speciall day was apponted for the folemniffing of the said baptisme. The ambassadours of Denmark and Dutcheland arryued almaift together. His Maiefte had fend for me of before, to be ther at ther landing, to refaue them, and to enter-teny them; bot the ambassadour of Mekelbourgh and Brunfwik wald not ryd out of Leith in company with the Dence ambassadours, when they wer convoyed vp to Edenbrough, bot wald haue a convoy a part.

A few dayes efter them, arryuit the ambassadours of the estaitis of the Law Contrees, to wit, Mons' de Brederod, and Mons' Folk, gret treforer of Holland and Zeland; wha landit at the New Heauen, wher I was weill accompanied to refaue them, having horse and fut mantelis in a redines to cary them vp to Edenbrough to ther logingis.

A litle before the landing of the saidis ambassadouris, the day of the baptisme was delayed, because ther was na word of any Frenche ambassadour, nor of the Englis; and the Kingis chaipell in the castell of Stirling, quhilk was casten down to be biggit again in a better fourm, was not yet perfourmed. Sa that the ambassadours wer ordonit to remain in Edenbrough, till all mycht be put in gud ordour. Therefore his Maiefte appointed his mefter houshald and my L. of Tungland my brether, togither with me, to enter-teny them vpon his hynes charges,

and also bear them company. Then efter they had taried lang in Edenbrough, and feing na apperance of any vther ambassadours other out of France or England, we wer commandit with some vthers of the confaill to convoy them to Stirling; at quhilk tym his Maieſte maid his excuses, that they wer ſa lang delayed in Edenbrough without any acquaintance plesour or confort. Bot they allegit that they had gret contentement of our company, quhilk his Maieſte left not to declair before the haill confaill, geving me gret thankis, alleging that I had done many gud offices, and this amang the reſt, quhilk he fuld never forget; and that he had thre other of my brether, that wer all meit for ſic matters, and for forrene affaires.

Now being in dout of the Engliſ ambassadours commyng, the ceremony was to be ſolemniffit without langer delay. In the mean tym, ther cam word that the Erle of Suffix was vpon his journey toward Scotland, for the Quen his meſtres, on whom the action ſtayed. The day of the ſolemnite, ther was gret buſynes for ther honours and ſeatis. That being agreed, ther was a tum chair ſet before the reſt, for the K. of France ambassadour. The order of the banket and triumphe, I leaue till others to ſet out.

*P. 412.* When the ambassadours had audience of the Quenis Maieſte, I was apponted to ſtand a litle behind, and nyxt vnto hir Maieſte. To the Engliſ, Dence and Dutche ambassadours, hir Maieſte maid anſwer hir ſelf; bot to the ambassadours of the eſtatis, albeit hir Maieſte culd ſpeak ſeamly Frenche, yet ſche roundit in my ear to declair vnto them hir anſwer. Then euery ane of them be ordour maid ther preſentis, for the godbarne gift. The jowelis of precious ſtaines ſche reſaut in hir awen hand, and then delyuerit them vnto me, to put them again in



ther caices, and lay them vpon a table, quhilk was prepaired in the midis of the chamber to lay them vpon. The Quen of Englandis had a gret schaw, in fair coipburd of filuer ouergilt cuningly wrocht, and some coupes of gold maffywe. The ambassadours of the estaitis presented a golden buift, wherin was wreten vpon parchement, in lettres of gold, a gift of a yearly pention to the prince of fywe thowfand be year; with gret coupes of maffywe gold, twa in speciall, quhilkis wer anough for me to lift and fet down vpon the said table. I leaue till vthers to fet down ther weicht and valour; bot I say that they wer schone melted and spendit, I mean sa many as wer of gold, quhilkis fuld haue bene keped in store to the posterite. Bot then, they that gaif aduyse to brek them had wanted ther part, as they had of the Quenis tocher.

All thir ambassadours being dispaiched and weill rewardit, they of 1593. Denmark wer aduyfed be Mester Jhon Lindsay of Menmure, to cause fend in heir again in deligence new ambassadours, to requyre the contract of mariage that was maid in Denmark to be fulfillit; alleging that the chancelair, wha maid it, had left out the rentis of the abbey of Domfermeling that lay befouth the watter of Fort, fraudfully, and had tane in few to him self all the lordschip of Musselbruch. Therfore wer sent out of Denmark twa ambassadours, to wit, Stean Bill and Doctour Craik, on whom I was appointed to attend, and se them weill vfed and entertained. As they wer weill instructed, sa they chancit vpon a meit tym; for the chanceler was for the tym decourted, and my brother was ambassadour for his Maieste in England. Sa the chanceler was caused to renunce ouer his part; and because my brother Sir Robert was absent, yong Sir Robert his sone and I obligit us, that his part, quhilk

was a xiiij chalder of vituell, fuld be also renuncit ouer at his retourn-  
yng, quhilk he did. Dyuers vthers that had some portions wer lyk-  
wais compellit, other be gud will, or elis be a new law that was maid  
for that effect. Bot his Maieſte promyſed to my ſaid brother afmekle  
heritage in another part, in reſpect that his gift was obtenit lang before  
the contract of mariage.

Thir twa ambaffadouris being weill ſatiſfied, and redy to retourn in  
Denmark, ther fell out another foull attemptat in the Kingis palice, be  
the Erle Bodowell and his affociatis, be the convoy of ſome that wer  
about his Maieſte. The ſaid erle, early in a mornyng, enterit in at the  
bak get befyd the kitching, as the ſaid get was openit to let fourth of  
the palice my Lady Athell, paſſing that way to veſit hir mother the  
Lady Gowrye, that logit hard without the palice. The ſaid erle, with  
a few company at the firſt, entrit within his Maieſteis chamber, quhilk  
wes eaſely oppenit vnto him. He had a drawen ſwerd in his . . . .  
and Meſter Jhon Coluille another. His Maieſteis claife wer louſe, and  
his . . . . of his hoife not knet vp ; get he was in nawayes aſtoniſ-  
fit, bot be . . . . calling them falſe traitours, bidding them ſtryk gif  
they durſt.

P. 220. Bot when they parſaued that his Maieſte wald tak na fear, Meſter  
Jhon Coluill roundit in the earles ear ; wha efter that fell down vpon  
his knees, humbly craving pardone, alleging that he had waited on  
lang ſecretly in the town of Edenbrough, to haue ſuttet grace and  
mercy on the ſame maner vpon the hye ſtreit, as dyuers vthers had  
done ; and that his intention was diſcouert till ſic of his ennemys as  
wer about his Maieſte, wha had apponted men to ſchut him ; ſa that  
he was compellit to tak this harder courſe for his latter refuge ; request-



ing his Maieſte other till pardone him, or elis to tak his awen ſwerd and fley him. With this he layed his lang hair vnder his Maieſteis feit, and tok his fut with his hand and ſet it vpon his hair, in ſigne of greter humilite. Quhilk moued his Maieſte to haue pitie and compaſſion vpon him, and granted him pardone frely without compulſion; as his Maieſte tald me that ſame day, and the haill maner of his incommyng.

In the mean tym that this was in doing, the allarme cam vp to the town. The commown bell rang, and many ran down, and I amang the reſt, to ſe what help mycht be maid. Being in the vtter cloiſe, I cryed vp at the window of his Maieſteis chamber, aſking how his Maieſte did. He cam to the window, and ſaid all wald be weill enough; and ſaid, he had agreed with them vpon certane conditions, “quhilkis ar preſently to be put in wret. Therfor,” ſaid he, “cauſe ſa many of the town as ar com to my relief, to ſtay in the abbay kirk gard, till I ſend them farther word, and retourn again within half ane hour yourſelf.” Now efter that I had tald my commiſſion to the few number of the town that wer com, they taried not lang. Sa gret wer ther miſcontentement for the tym, that many deſyred a chengement.

Efter this I paſt to the tua Dence ambaffadours, that wer logit in the houſe of Kinloch; wha wer in a gret diſpleſour for his Maieſteis eſtair, and willit me, in ther name, to retourn and deſyre farther knowlege of the weilfair of baith King and Quen. His Maieſte cam again to the window, and brocht the Quen with him; and they baith bad me tell the ambaffadours that they wer weill, and that thingis wer fully agreed. Then the ſaidis ambaffadouris directed me to the Erle Bodo-well, to deſyre leaue that thay mycht com in efternun to the court, and ſe ther Maieſteis. Quhilk being granted, I paſt with them to the Quenis

chamber; and leaving them ther, paft fordwart to fe his Maieftie, wha was glaid to get any of his awen that he mycht fpeak to, and declared vnto me the haill maner; lamenting mair the euell fauourit fourm of doing of the maift part of them that wer about him, then he did the Erle Bodowelis proceeding vpon fa gret neceffite. I again, efter that I had comforted him the beft I culd, faid that it was lamentable that he, wha had fic a pringnant wit, and fa fincere ane inclynation, fuld caft him felf continowally in the company of wicked men, whom he loued for thair pleafant langage, albeit he had oft proif of ther infidellite; and waved and did caft aff fic trew honeft men as had a continowall cair of his honour and furetie, be fchawing him the verite in four and unplai-fant langage. He faid, it was his chance to beleue that men, vnto whom he had bene very beneficiall, fuld loue him. Wher I remembrit him of the faying of Plutark vnto Trayan, to think better of ther confaill that loued him, then of thers that he loued.

P. 221. Efter this the Dence ambaffadours required to be hard before the confaill, quhilk was granted; and his Maieftie paft to the nether towbuith, throw the town, wher the confaill thocht meteft to fit, and ther gaue audience to the faid ambaffadours. Wha declaired how they wer redy to depart towardis Denmark, and how that the K. ther maifter, at ther commyng, wald inquire of the eftait of the K. his gud brother. And gene they culd not inform him of the verite, he wald perchance fend vther ambaffadouris. Therefore requested the confaill, not to think ftrange of ther curiosite in thre questions; to wit, whither the K. knew or was maid preuy to the Erle Bodowelis enterpryfe or not; whither the K. had promyfed any thing to the faid erle, for fear or be compulfion, or frely with his hart; and whither the K. wes keped captywe, or gif he was at liberte.

To this his Maieſte maid anſwer firſt him ſelf, that he knew nathing of the erles incommyng, and that he was not tane with his awen content. To the ſecond his Maieſte anſwerit, that his promyſe was not maid be compulſion, bot for very pitie, vpon the Erle Bodowelis gret humiliation. To the thrid he ſaid, whither he was keped captywe or was at liberte, he left that point to the conſaill to diſcyd. The conſaill again referrit it vnto the kingis awen declairation ; ſa that head lay ouer vndiſcydit.

It nedet na farther deſcifion ; for euery body mycht ſe that he was keped, and a new gard was tane vp, wherof the Lord Ogiltre was capten. His Maieſte was parmitted daly till paſs fourth to the gardes, to tak the air ; wher he lamented vnto me to ſe him ſelf ſa waited on, aſking gif they wald ay keip him captywe. I requested his Maieſte to uſe wiſdom and patience ; “and let it not appear that ye cair quhilk of them be about you, and ye will ſchortly ſe them devyd among them ſelues, for the caſualites, or for wardes or mariages that may vaik. This lord will ſay that he will haue it ; another will ſay that he will other haue it to him ſelf or to his frend, or elis he will tary na langer. Then with tym ther purſe will grow toun, that the maiſt part of them will retire them and becom malcontentis. Then your Maieſte may tak occaſion to wone ſa many of them as may be . . . . . without breking of your promyſe or parelling of . . . . . fre liberte ; wheras gif your Maieſte preſs now to eſchaipe . . . . . they ar in the hait tred of ther ſtanding, as I . . . . . ye will brek your promyſe and parell your perſon.” . . . . . gud vntill he was alterit be the chanceler, Sir Ge . . . . . fled for fear of the Erle Bodowell ; for they . . . . .

aduyces vnto his Maieſte to ſpy out ſome gud occaſi . . . . .  
 ſelf out of his keepers handis. For they fearit . . . . .  
 company with the new com in lordis that he wald with . . . . .  
 had bene about him of before, and wald forge . . . . .  
 folowing this aduyſe, his Maieſte determinit to eſchape . . . . .  
 him. Sa this plat was layed, that his Maieſte fuld de . . . . .  
 ther to paſs his tym vntill the Erle Bodowellis cleang . . . . .  
 for that effect to ane apponted day; in the mea . . . . .  
 him ſelf from court vntill he fuld be maid a clean . . . . .  
 the Lord Ogiltre with a gard. The Erle of Athell . . . . .  
 Malcom Toiſche and dyuers vthers. Now his Maieſte . . . . .  
 that ſome that wer in his company had bene . . . . .  
 him as he conjecturit weill anough at the . . . . .  
 requyred, oppenit his intent of eſ . . . . .  
 ment and hopped to be in a better . . . . .

P. 222. wer when the chanceler, Sir George and ther adherentis had the cheif  
 handling. Bot he hid his enterpryſe fra me, becauſe I had diſwadit  
 him to be ouer haiſty, as is ſpecified of before; and lykwaiſ from  
 my brother Sir Robert, wha was new retournit fra his ambaffage in  
 England. His Maieſte thocht, in his retournyng out of Facland  
 to Edenbrough, to ſpure his horſe towardis Couper, and ther to be-  
 come fre; quhilk he mycht haue done eaſely, gif they had bene all  
 trew that he maid preuy to his enterpryſe. Quhilk when he cam till  
 Edenbrough, was diſcouerit to the Erle Bodowell; wha boiſted his  
 Maieſte, and ſpak very hard and reprochefull langage of him, ſa that  
 dyuers thocht his Maieſte in gret danger.

In the mean tym, the miniſters, with Meſter Bowes the Engliſ am-

baffadour and my brother Sir Robert, delt betwen his Maieſte and the  
 Erle Bodowell, and brocht them in ſome better termes ; packing vp all  
 matters according to the firſt contract and agreement. And the Erle  
 Bodowell was fairly cleangit be ane affyſe, and thereafter ane conven-  
 tion apponted to be in Stirling ; wher his Maieſte being at fre liberte,  
 fuld perfourm all conditions and promyſes. When his Maieſte was at  
 Stirling, dyuers of them that wer fled for fear of the Erle Bodowell, and  
 that had ſome particulars, cam till court and moued his Maieſte, being  
 at the convention, to ſay that whatſoeuer he had promyſed of before  
 vnto the Erle Bodowell, was done vpon juſt fear be compulſion. Quhilk  
 his Maieſte was very laith to do, conform to his vprycht naturell ; af-  
 firmand the contrary, as he had alwayes done of before. Then ſic as  
 had particulaires, vſed wyles and ſubtilites till drawe him indirectly  
 from his ground, to folow ther intent ; alleging that whatſoeuer his  
 Maieſte did in his captiuite, culd ſtand the Erle Bodowell in na ſteid.  
 And now to mak the Erle Bodowell ſure, his Maieſte behoued to ſay  
 that he was compellit at the firſt ; bot being at liberte, he mycht mak  
 the agreement effectuell ; in the mean tym ſet down his ordinance  
 . . . . out of his company dyuers of his dependers, with whom  
 . . . . the Erle Bodowellis doers again defyred the houſes of  
 . . . . to him, and the houſe of Spot to James Douglas, and  
 . . . . promyſed as they allegit. The Erle ſtayed at dele-  
 . . . . to Stirling, when he vnderſtod that the chancellor  
 . . . . com again to court aganes promyſe. Wha wer his  
 . . . . cryed out in a rage that they wer fiſchen  
 . . . . the articles of agreement at the inſtance of his  
 . . . . that wer neuer ſpoken of. In the mean tym

. . . . . to Stirling that Bodowelis frendis wer fayn  
 . . . . . and litle, and he retirrit him him first to Lithco; vnto  
 . . . . . directed my brother Sir Robert to deall with him; bot he  
 . . . . . epentance for his moderat behauour and pro-  
 . . . . . full vnreuerent langage of his Maieste and of all  
 . . . . . the last agrement, whom he allegit wer cationers  
 . . . . . my brother that was sent vnto him was glaid to  
 . . . . . with his awen faifete. Sa the Erle Bodowell becam  
 . . . . . mynd then he had bene of before, for eschewing  
 . . . . . to draw the maist part of his dependers  
 . . . . . and remissions, except only James Douglas  
 . . . . . particuliers.

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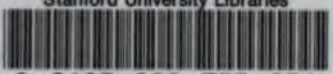






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